

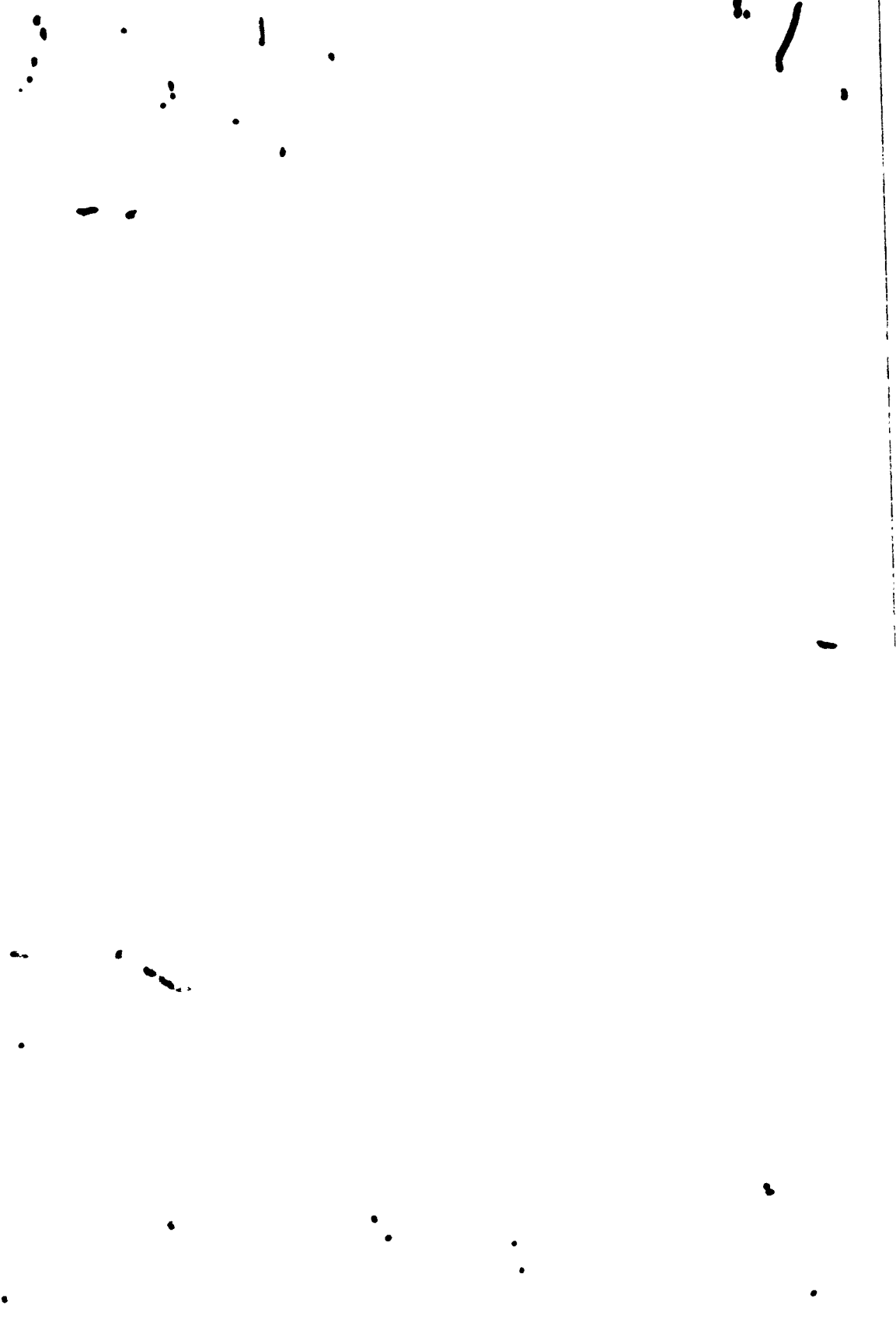
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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III

PART II

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: BENTLEY HOUSE
NEW YORK, TORONTO, BOMBAY
CALCUTTA, MADRAS: MACMILLAN
TOKYO: MARUZEN COMPANY LTD

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

Vol III Pt 2

BY

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VOLUME III

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND,
DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

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PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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APPENDIX P.

FLOATING ISLANDS.

Floating islands have not yet been made the subject of any monograph¹. But examples of them are given by Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 7 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, and the anonymous author *de aquis mirabilibus* 37 ff. (formerly identified with Sotion Phot. *bibl.* p. 145 b 28 ff. Bekker) and printed under that name by A. Westermann ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 183 ff., but better edited as *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* by H. Oehler Tubingae 1913 and cited as such in W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*² Munchen 1920 n. 420 f.). Fact and fable are so blended in their accounts that individual cases call for separate consideration:

1. Aiolos Hippotades lived on a floating island (*Od.* 10. 3 πλωτή ἐνὶ νήσῳ as explained by Aristarchos *schol.* H.M.Q.T.V. *Od.* 10. 3. Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 132. 18 f., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644. 51 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* πλωτή, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλωτον, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 18 f., Soud. *s.v.* πλωτή νήσος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* πλωτή, and W. W. Meriy *ad loc.*), which was perhaps originally regarded as an island of souls (*supra* p. 109). On it see further K. Tumpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* 1. 1032 ff.

2. The Homeric Planktai were beetling rocks against which the waves broke. No birds could pass them in safety. Even the doves that brought ambrosia to Zeus always lost one of their number, and another had to be sent by him in its stead. Never yet had any ship escaped these rocks, for billows of salt water and blasts of destructive fire overwhelmed ships and crews alike. The Argo alone, on its voyage from Aietes, had passed them, being sent past in safety by Hera for Iason's sake (*Od.* 12. 59—72, 23. 327). There is no question here of clashing rocks, between which Odysseus must go (*schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 370). The poet, anxious to eliminate incredible marvels (*supra* n. 989), has substituted παρά for διά (62 παρέρχεται, 60 παρέπλω, 72 παρέπεμψεν) and left us to suppose that the danger lay in being dashed against the rocks, not in being crushed between them. Nevertheless the name Πλαγκταί used of them by the blessed gods (61) implies that they were originally conceived as 'Wandering rocks, and the sinister phrase ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρείται δις πέτρῃ (64) looks like a reminiscence of the clashing *moiti*.

The Kyaneai (first in Soph. *Ant. 666* or Hdt. 4. 85) or Symplegades (first in Eur. *Med.* 431) of the Argonauts' adventure were two living rocks which rushed together, rolling faster than the winds (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 268 ff.). As early as 5 v. 160, if not earlier, they were located on the Thracian Bosphoros (Soph. *Ant. 666* f. and Hdt. 4. 85) at the entrance to the Luxme (Eur. *I.T.* 124 f.), where they formed

¹ Unless we concede the name to such articles as those by Mary Johnston 'Floating islands, ancient and modern' in the *Classical Weekly* 1925—1926 xiv. 58, L. R. Shero 'The Vadimonian Lake and floating islands of Equatorial Africa' *ib.* 1933—1934 xxxv. 51 f., J. W. Spaeth 'More floating islands' *ib.* p. 78, R. M. Geer 'Floating islands (once more)' *ib.* p. 152 or to such chapters as those of A. Breusing 'Nautisches zu Homeros. 6. ΠΛΩΤΗ ΕΝΙ ΝΗΩΝΙ' in the *faab. f. class. Philol.* 1886 xxxii. 82—92 and E. Hawks *The Book of Natural Wonders* London 1932 pp. 192—198 ('Disappearing Islands').

the mouth of the Pontos (Theokr. 22. 27 f., Nikeph. Greg. *hist. Byz.* 5. 4 §. 134 Schopen. Apollonios of Rhodes tells how the Argonauts on their outward voyage were warned by Phineus of the two Kyaneai, which were not firmly fixed with roots beneath but constantly clashed together amid boiling surf, and advised by him to send a dove in advance Ap. Rhod. 2. 317 ff.; how they acted on his advice and saw the rocks shear off the tail-feathers of the bird; how they themselves making a desperate dash just got through, thanks to the helpful hands of Athena, with the loss of the tip of their stern-ornament; and how the rocks thenceforward were rooted fast and remained motionless (*ib.* 2. 349 ff.—a fine piece of writing). It should be observed that Apollonios is careful to distinguish the Kyaneai or Plegades, as he terms them Ap. Rhod. 2. 590, 2. 645, and *Καίνοι κτισίς φράξ.* 5. 4 Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 10. 1 ff. and Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 1285. from the Homeric Planktai. For it is only on the return voyage that he works in an allusion to the Planktai, which are described as having surge at their bases and flame at their tops Ap. Rhod. 4. 786 ff., 924 ff. in obvious reference to the Lipati Islands cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 41 f. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡφαίστος, ἐς χαλκῶνα καὶ ἄκμονας ἤμι θεθήκει, νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς εἶπεν μυχόν with schol. *ad loc.*

Many of the Greeks, however, identified the Kyaneai or Symplegades of the Bosphoros with the Planktai: so first, perhaps, Hdt. 4. 85, then Asklepiades? of Myrleia: see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1629 *ap.* schol. *Od.* 12. 69 and other *ῥεώτεροι* schol. Eur. *Med.* 2 listed by O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2546. And sundry Roman poets, placing Scylla in Sicilian waters, associate her with clashing rocks Ov. *met.* 7. 62 ff. called Symplegades Ov. *her.* 12. 121 or Cyaneae *Iuv.* 15. 19 f.,

The right conclusion is drawn by O. Jessen *loc. cit.*, *viz.*: that both the Planktai and the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose the ancient popular belief in a doorway to the Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls (T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1864 iv. 166 the Mexican dead 'hatte aneinander schlagende Berge, zu passiren,' Julg 'über die griechische Heldensage im Wiederscheine bei den Mongolen' in the *Verh. d. 26 Philologen-Zusamm. in Würzburg* 1860 p. 64 in the Mongolian saga of Gesser Chan bk 4 'Von da weiterhin kommst du zu einer andern Verwandlung, nämlich zu zwei an einander schlagenden Felswänden: um zwischen denselben durchzukommen, musst du selbst ein Mittel ausfindig machen.' E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture* London 1861 i. 347 f. the Karens of Burma 'say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset, *ib.* i. 348 f. in an Ottawa tale Iosco and his friends after travelling eastward for years reached the chasm that led to the land of the Sun and Moon: as the sky rose, Iosco and one friend leapt through, but the other two were caught by the sky as it struck the earth, A. Leskien—K. Brugman *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* Strassburg 1882 p. 550 in a Slovenian tale the hero's mother 'stellt sich krank und will Wasser von zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber keine Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht zwei Minuten schlafen, *ib.* p. 551 in a similar Slovak tale the mother 'stellt sich krank und verlangt...das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt,' *ib.* in a similar tale from Little Russia the mother 'stellt sich krank und schickt den Sohn...nach heilemdem und belebendem Wasser zu den zusammenschlagenden Bergen,' W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 235 f. cites stories of the

same type. In one 'the hero is sent in search of "a healing and a vivifying water," preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during "two or three minutes" of each day. . . "Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back." He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs, and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience. . . In a similar story from the Ukraine, mention is made of two springs of healing and life-giving water, which are guarded by iron-beaked ravens, and the way to which lies between grinding hills. The Fox and the Hare are sent in quest of the magic fluid. The Fox goes and returns in safety, but the Hare, on her way back, is not in time quite to clear the meeting cliffs, and her tail is jammed in between them. Since that time, hares have had no tails,' M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 263 ff. in a Rumanian tale Floria, sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death, was helped by a lame stork, which went straight to the mountains that knock against one another, waited—at the advice of a swallow—till noon when they rest for half an hour, then plunged into their depth and filled two bottles, but lost his tail as the mountains closed furiously upon him. And that is why storks have no tails, J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 n. 46 in a Greek tale from Syra *supra* n. 1004 ff.; the girl Moon, helped by the bird Dikjeretto, fetched the Water of Life from a spring in a mountain which opened at midday, but had to cut off a piece of her dress that was caught by the closing cleft, *ib.* n. 280 f. in another tale from Syra, akin to the group noted by Leskien and Brugman (= von Hahn's nineteenth *formula* 'Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel'), the hero's mother feigns illness and craves for the Water of Life (*ἀθάνατο νερό*): the young man is directed by an old dame, in reality his Fate (*ἦταν ἡ τύχη τοῦ παιδιού*), to a mountain which opens every day at noon and contains many springs: he is guided to the right one by a bee, *ib.* n. 283 f. in a variant from Vitzia in Epeiros the prince's elder sister pretends to be ill and sends him for the Water of Life, which a lame crow obtains from a mountain that opens and shuts, *ib.* 238 in a tale from the Zagori district of Epeiros a prince, to win Goldyllocks, must needs fetch the Water of Life from a mountain which opens only for a moment and then shuts to with a snap: he gets it from a helpful raven, who brings it to him in a gourd, *ib.* n. 194 f. in another tale from Zagori the hero, to win the king's daughter, has to obtain the Water of Life from a mountain which opens and closes again with the speed of lightning; he borrows the wings of a helpful eagle and escapes with filled gourd, R. Kohler in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1871 n. 1403 f. no. 3 (= *id.* *Kleinere Schriften* Weimar 1868 n. 367 f. in a modern Greek tale a king's son sets out to find for his sick father the Water of Immortality *τὸ ἀθάνατο νερό*: 'welches sich am Ende der Welt hinter zwei hohen Bergen befindet, die nach Art der Symplegaden immer auseinandergehen und wieder zusammenstossen' [*ib.* ebenso bei Sakellarios No. 8. Vgl. auch Wenig Westslaw. Märchenschatz S. 148]. On the Water of Life see further A. Wünsche *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 90—104 'Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Mäthen der Völker', J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Bruder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 in. 394—401 'Das Wasser des Lebens'. A sea-faring people might naturally conceive of such a portal as a pair of floating rocks or islets. Thus in a Greenland tale the hero Giviok 'continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them.

and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him: and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them' (H. Rink *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* Edinburgh—London 1875 p. 158 f.). It would, however, be unsafe to infer from this tale that the Planktai were 'an early attempt to reproduce some sailor's story of the floating icebergs' W. W. Merry on *Od.* 12. 61 and that the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose a dim recollection of icebergs in the Black Sea cp. for the facts E. H. Minns *Sythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 6. Both alike are but mariners' versions of the gateway to the Otherworld.

See further F. Wieseler *commentatio de Cyanets sive Symplegadibus* Gottingae 1879 pp 1—20. O. Jessen 'Planktai' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2540—2548. Sir J. G. Frazer in his ed. of Apollodoros London—New York 1921 ii. 355—358 Append. v 'The Clashing Rocks', Miss J. R. Bacon *The Voyage of the Argonauts* London 1925 p. 79 f.

3 As knowledge of the Mediterranean increased there was a tendency to put the clashing rocks further and further afield. Close to the Ceraunian mountains were two rocks which clashed together as often as any trouble threatened the natives: Dionys. *Per.* 394 ff. *ἔνθα σφιν πέρας ἄλλο θεοὶ θέσαν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἰὼν κείνην ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρηρέδαται δίο πέτραι, αἵτ' ἄμφω ξυνίασι δονεόμεναι, εἴτε τις ἀρχὴ γίγνεται ἐνναετησι κυλιδομένω κακοῦ* with Eustath. *ad loc.* *Tzetzi chil.* 4. 707 ff. confuses these rocks with the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia noted by Dionysios in the same context: this reads like a bit of genuine folklore and may even be older than the location of the Homeric Planktai in the Lipari Islands. Others, impressed apparently by the fact that Tartessos sounds like Tartaros: Strab. 149, transferred both the Planktai and the Symplegades to the neighbourhood of Gadeira and identified them with the pillars of Herakles: Strab. 170, quoted by Eustath. *in Dionys. Per.* 64. Others, again, declared that Homer etc. were speaking of rocks that lay between Kilikia (= Lykia N.B.C.) and Pamphylia: *Tzetzi in Lyk. Ill.* 815—apparently by confusion with the Chelidonides Nesoi: see Ap. Rhod. *Καίνοι κτίσις Πύλ.* 5. 3 f. Powell *op. Cramer miscel. Par.* iv. 16. 4 f.).

4 An oriental analogue to the Planktai may be found in the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre. Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 422 ff. relates that, when Dionysos was in Tyre, he enquired of Herakles Ἀστροχίτων how the city came to be. The god replied that he had roused the original earth-born natives from slumber, bidding them build the first ship and cross the sea till they should reach the Ambrosiai Petrai. These were two floating rocks, on which grew an olive in the very centre of the rock. On its topmost boughs they would see an eagle perched and a well-wrought bowl. Fiery sparks sprang from the flaming tree, which, for all that, was not consumed. A snake was coiled about it, but neither hurt nor was hurt by the eagle: 467 ff. *εἰσόκε χρόνον ἴκοισθε μεμορμένον, ὀππόθι ὄισσαι ἀσπασέες πλώοισιν ἀλήμονες εἰν ἄλι πέτραι, ἃς Φέσις Ἀμβροσίως ἐπεφήμισεν, αἷς ἐνὶ θάλλει ἠλικος αἰτόρριζον ὁμόζυγον ἔρνος ἐλαίης, πέτρης ἰγρητόρου μεσομφαλον· ἀκροτάσις δὲ αἶετον ἀθρήσητε παμεδρήσσοντα κυρέμφοις | καὶ φυάλην εἴττοντον· ἀπο φλογηροῦ δὲ δένδρον, θαμβυλέους σπυθηῆρας ἐρέγεται αἰτόματων πύρ, | καὶ στέλας ἀφλεγέως περιβόσκειται ἔρνος ἐλαίης· καὶ φυτὸν ἰψιπετηλον ἐλίξ ἕφης ἀμφιχορεύει, κ.τ.λ.* They were to capture the bird and sacrifice it to *Kyanocheutes*, pouring its blood as a libation to the sea-roaming hills and to

Zeus and to the blessed ones. The rock would then stay rooted to the spot, and on both its peaks they would be able to plant their town. This remarkable description is borne out on the one hand by a passage in the novel of Achilleus Tatios, on the other by a modern Palestinian folk-tale.

Ach. Tat. 2 14 quotes an oracle current among the Byzantines—*νήσός τις πόλις ἐστὶ φυτῶν μόνον αἶμα λαχοῦσα, ἰσθμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο φέρονσα.* ἐνθ' Ἡφαιστος ἔχων χεῖρας γλαυκῶπιον Ἀθήνην· κείθι θνητολίην σε φέρειν κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ cp. *Anth. Pal.* 14, 34— and explains that the island-city with inhabitants named after trees is Tyre occupied by the Phoinikes. Its isthmus-strait is the narrow neck of land uniting it with the shore, since water flows beneath it. Here, too, Hephaistos in a sense enjoys Athena—witness the sacred precinct in which a flaming fire and an olive-tree are to be seen side by side, the soot of the former positively tending the branches of the latter.

A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 45 draws attention to a tale published by H. Schmidt—P. Kahle *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina* Göttingen 1918 p. 146 ff. no. 42, in which it is said of the hero, 'Er kam zu Schams ed-Duhha und fragte sie nach dem Wasser des Lebens. Da sagte sie: "Hinter dem Garten der Jungfrauen eine Tagereise zwischen zwei Bergen! Wer hinuntersteigt, über dem schlagen die beiden Bergen zusammen. Sein Lebtage ist niemand, der hinunterstieg, wieder herausgekommen. Du aber schopfe es 'das Wasser' von oben aus.' Er gelangte dorthin. Da war ein Baum, über dem schwebte ein Vogel, über seinem Wipfel. Er zog sein Schwert und ging auf den Baum zu. Da war dort eine Schlange, die wollte die Brut des Vogels fressen. Sie kam auf ihn zu. Er schlug auf sie ein und tötete sie. Dann band er dem Vogel eine Flasche an den Hals. Der flog hin, füllte die Flasche und flog auf. Und während er aufflog, schlugen die Berge hinter ihm zusammen und rupften ihm den Schwanz und die Flügel. Da nahm jener die Flasche und ging zurück zu Schams ed-Duhha.' It will be observed that the two clashing mountains, behind which is the Water of Life, the tree, the snake, the helpful bird with the bottle attached to its neck, make up a picture curiously similar to that of the Ambrosial Petrai as described by Nonnos.

Bronze coins of Tyre, struck by a succession of Roman imperial persons from Caracalla 211—217 A.D. to Salonina 253—268 A.D., have for reverse type the *ΑΜΒΡΟΙΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ* or *ΠΑΙΤΡΕ* etc. These are shown sometimes as two *amphiboli* on separate bases, with an olive-tree growing between them *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 430 Gordianus III pl. 33, 15 = my fig. 783 from a cast, p. 284 no. 442 Trebomanus Gallus, p. 291 no. 473 Valerianus I, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 328 no. 2241 Elagabalos, p. 330 no. 2255 Aquilia Severa pl. 37, 9, p. 331 no. 2258 Julia Maesa pl. 37, 11, p. 333 no. 2270 Gordianus III, p. 340 no. 2302 Volusianus, p. 348 nos. 2349—2351 Gallienus pl. 38, 24 f., W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 140 f. Elagabalos = my fig. 784 from a cast, sometimes as two *stélai* on a single base, between crescent and star, with a flaming *thymotérion* on one side and an olive-tree on the other *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 429 Gordianus III pl. 33, 14 = my fig. 785 from a cast, *Hunter Cat. Coins* III 270 no. 58 Gordianus III pl. 77, 9 = my fig. 786, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 334 no. 2271 Gordianus III pl. 37, 16. Or, again, they appear in the field as a local background. Thus Herakles, with club and lion-skin, pours a libation from a *phiale* over a burning altar, above which are seen the two *stélai*, with streams issuing from their bases *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 427

Gordianus in pl. 33, 13 = my fig. 787 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 321 f no. 2198 Caracalla pl. 36, 16, p. 330 no. 2253 Aquilia Severa, p. 341 no. 2300 Valerianus i pl. 38, 8, p. 346 no. 2342 Gallienus p. 341 no. 2308 Valerianus i pl. 38, 7 has trophy in place of altar. Okeanos, reclining, with head-dress of crab's claws, holds in his left hand an oar and extends his right towards the *stiboi*, from which streams flow *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 289 no. 464 Valerianus i, p. 296 no. 497 Salonina pl. 35, 5 = my fig. 788 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2343 Gallienus pl. 38, 20;

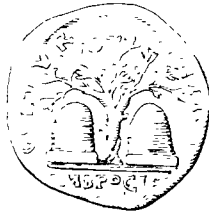


Fig. 783.

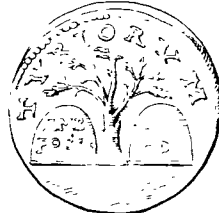


Fig. 784.



Fig. 785.



Fig. 786.



Fig. 787.



Fig. 788.



Fig. 789.

Europe, standing to front, with basket or vase: on the left, Zeus in the form of a bull emerges from the sea; above him are the *omphaloi* with an olive-tree between them *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 290 no. 468 Valerianus i pl. 34, 13 = my fig. 789 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2348 Gallienus pl. 38, 23, *supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402 Gallienus, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 20 pl. 3, 40 = Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 71 pl. 7, 6 = W. H. Roscher *Neue Omphalosstudien* Leipzig 1915 pp. 15 n. 34, 71 fig. Gallienus.

These coins enable us to trace the Ambrosiai Petrai back to a date nearly a century earlier than Achilles Tatios, our earliest literary authority, and some two centuries earlier than Nonnos. As is so often the case, the earliest conception

is the simplest. Here are seen two *omphaloi* or *stélai* with rounded tops, from the base of which streams are flowing. Streams of what? Presumably of *ambrosia*. The rocks, to deserve their name, must themselves be the very source of that elixir for the Water of Life as honey see e.g. *Kalvala* 15, 377 ff. trans. W. F. Kirby; cp. W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 46 ff., W. Robert—Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 85—89, 122—126). I cannot, therefore, agree with Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 390 'profluente subitus aqua, nimirum quod



Fig. 790.

aqua maris perpetuo humectantur.' Again, the coins give no hint of the eagle and the *phiale*. These are not mentioned before the fifth-century epic of Nonnos and may be an accretion due partly to the popular concept of Zeus as an eagle fed on *ambrosia* from the *phiale* of Ganymedes (e.g. Reimach *Relief. Reliefs* i. 115, 190 no. 1, ii. 232 no. 3, iii. 231 no. 2, 370 no. 7, 489 no. 2). I add in fig. 790 a Roman lamp of Augustan date in my possession scale $\frac{1}{4}$, cp. a similar but smaller lamp with bungled inscription published by R. Kekule in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 121 f. pl. G, 1, and in pl. lxix. 1^o the relief on a bronze mirror-case of early imperial date from Miletopolis *Meld.* acquired in 1907 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches : (2) an exact

replica of it in the collection of the late Dr A. H. Lloyd, Cambridge. On comparison with the *sarcophagus* at Rome Muller--Wieseler--Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 87 pl. 9. 19=Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 277 f. no. 97 a pl. 24=Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 370 no. 2. It becomes clear that the design is better suited to a circular than to an oblong space. The recumbent female figure, according to Amelung, is 'wohl eine Personification des Berges Ida'. I too should take her to be the Phrygian or Cretan nymph Ide. E. Neustadt in Pauly--Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 880, or—less probably—the nymph Ambrosia. K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1809, from whom Ganymedes has received the bowl. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 546 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1599, and P. Friedländer in Pauly--Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 748, however, contend that the scene is laid in heaven, not on earth. cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 415 ff., partly to the fact that in Levantine art of the Græco-Roman age an eagle on a sacred stone had a solar significance *supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186 figs. 129 f. See also F. Cumont in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxxii. 119-164, 1911 lxxiii. 208--214, republished with modifications and additions in his *Études Syriaques* Paris 1917 pp. 35-118 'L'aigle funéraire d'Héracopolis et l'apothéose des empereurs'. S. Konzevalle in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth* 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' 1912 v. 2. 117--178, 221--231. L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 1-20. Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 pp. 181--187. The snake is a further accretion, elsewhere connected with the solar eagle of the Phœnician Baral-Samin *supra* i. 191 f. fig. 138 and comparable with the snake twined round an ovoid stone or *omphalos* or other bronze coins of Tyre *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phœnicia* pp. cxli, 278 no. 413 Elagabalos pl. 33. 8=my fig. 791 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 328 no. 2240 Elagabalos pl. 37. 5. p. 339 no. 2296 Trebonianus Gallus pl. 37. 29. This serpent-twined egg appears to have had a cosmic significance. cp. Epikourios *op. Ephran. panar. haires* i. 8. 1 + 294 Dindorf = H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 589. 11 ff. εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ἱπάρχης φῶς δίκην τοῦ σίμπτου. τοῦ δὲ πνεύμα ὀρακοντοειδῶς περὶ τὸ φῶς ὡς στεφανῶν ἢ ὡς ζώνην περισφίγγειν τότε τὴν φύσιν. θελήσαν ἔε ζωασθῆναι *καίρῳ Diels 1) καὶ σφῆ cp. Aristot. *de cœlo* i. 6. 313 b5 περισσοτέρῳ σφίγγει τὴν πᾶσαν ἰλην εἶπ' ὅτι φύσιν τῶν πάντων. οἷτω δὲχασαι μὲν ταῦτα εἰς ταὐτὸ ἡμισφαίρια καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτων τὰ ἄτομα διακεκρίσθαι.



Fig. 791.

It does not appear with certainty on coins that represent the Ambrosial Petrai. *Proc.* J. F. Vaillant *Nouveau catalogue des monnaies de l'empire romain, Augustorum, et Caesarum, in colonis, mancipis, et urbis cur. Latii donatis, ex omni modulo percussa* Paris 1845 ii. 101 fig. 151 fig., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.* ii. 389, Stevenson - Smith - Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 828. Sir G. F. Hill wrote to me April 8. 1920 with regard to the specimens in the British Museum: 'There is something twining round the trunk of the tree between the stones, and I have no reason to suspect either Vaillant or Eckhel. . . Lastly, the fire, which Achilles Tatios makes into a marvel and Nonnos into a miracle, figures on the coins only as a flaming *thymiatērion* or altar. The essential elements, present from the first, are the two rocks, the Water of Life or *ambrosia* that flows from them, and the olive-tree growing between or beside them.

Now the whole of this ambrosial business has a suspiciously Hellenistic look about it, and we may well surmise that it has been grafted on to older beliefs of indigenous growth. Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phœnicia* p. cxli



- (1) A bronze mirror case in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
Gymnætes tends the Eagle in the presence of a Nymph.
- (2) A similar mirror case in the Lloyd collection, Cambridge.

See page 981.



very pertinently asks: 'Have these two baetyls any connexion with the two stelae dedicated to "Ousoos" to fire and wind?' Ousoos, the eponym of Ušû or Palai-Tyros (F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* Munchen 1926 pp. 8, 166 f.), was the brother and rival of Samemroumos or Hypsouranios (*supra* ii. 981 n. 1). If Hypsouranios invented huts made of reeds, grasses, and papyrus, Ousoos invented clothing made of skins from beasts that he had captured. During a violent storm of rain and wind the trees at Tyre, rubbing against one another, kindled a fire and burnt the wood. Ousoos caught hold of a tree, stripped off the branches, and was the first who dared to put to sea. He dedicated two *stēlai* to Pyr and Pneuma, worshipped them, and poured as a libation to them the blood of the beasts that he had taken in the chase. When these persons died, the survivors dedicated rods to them and, celebrating a yearly festival for them, worshipped the *stēlai* (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Muller, *ap.* Euseb. *hriarh.* vi. 1. 10. 10 f. δένδρον δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Οὔσωον καὶ ἀποκλαδεύσαντα πρῶτον τολμήσαι εἰς θάλατταν ἐμβῆναι· ἀνιερῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸ στήλας Πυρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, αἰμά τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὧν ἤγγρεε θηρίων. τούτων δὲ τελευτησάντων, τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ῥάβδους αἰτοῖς ἀφιερῶσαι, καὶ τὰς στήλας προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τούτους ἑορτὰς ἄγειν κατ' ἔτος). If, as seems probable, we have here a genuine echo of Phoenician cosmogony (*supra* ii. 1030 ff.), we may reasonably suppose at Tyre an actual cult of two cosmic *stēlai* (cp. *supra* n. 425 f.) later equated with the Ambrosiai Petrai. Hence the abnormal representation of the Petrai on imperial coins as a couple of *stēlai*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* Munchen 1910 ii. 576 n. 5 asserts with confidence: 'Es sind die zwei Masseben, die Ušōos...dem Wind und dem Feuer geweiht haben soll; d. h. die beiden Gipfel des Weltenberges, durch die zwei Stelen dargestellt, versinnlichen den Feuer- und den Windpunkt des Jahreskreises (oben S. 451 f.), die winterliche Wassertiefe ist durch das Meer vertreten, auf dem die *disσαὶ πέτραι* schwimmen. Hinter dem Namen "ambrosische" Felsen steckt hier in Palatyrus natürlich eine semitische Bezeichnung, etwa amn bēroth "Mutter der Quellen" oder dgl.'

On this showing there is a close parallelism between the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre, perhaps identified with the pillars of Pyr and Pneuma, and the Planktai or Symplegades of Gadeira, certainly identified with the pillars of Herakles (*supra* p. 978 n. 0 3). Even the olive-tree of Tyre reappears at Gadeira (Philost. vi. *Apoll.* 5, 5 p. 167 Kayser ἡ Πιγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἢ χρυσή, ἀνάκειται δὲ λάκειν ἔς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μὲν, ὡς φασὶ, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θαυμάζειν, ᾧ εἴκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, ἕριεν γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου—*noted by A. J. Wensinck op. cit.* p. 19).

(5) Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi), an Egyptian town in the north-western part of the Delta (K. Sethe in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* iii. 1087 f., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 97 f., F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* Munchen 1926 p. 903 ff.), gave its name to a neighbouring lake the Boutike Limne (Strab. 802). The town was famous for its cult of Leto, the lake for a floating island called Chembis (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 442 'the Island of Khebit', which was sacred to Apollon (Hekataios *frag.* 284 *Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 20 Muller) = *frag.* 305 *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 40 Jacoby) *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Χέμμυς). According to Herodotus, the lake near the sanctuary at Bouto was deep and wide: the island carried a great temple of Apollon with three altars, besides many palms, fruit-trees, etc.; and the local myth was as follows. When Typhon was searching high and low for the son of Osiris, Leto, one of the eight earliest deities, having

an oracle at Bougo, received Apollon in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 38, which up to that time had been fixed but was thenceforward said to be afloat. Apollon and Artemis were children of Dionysos by Isis, Leto being their nurse and preserver: in Egyptian Apollon was Horos, Demeter was Isis, Artemis was Boubastis Hdt. 2. 156. cp. Mela 1. 55 Chemmis, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 60 f. Ἐχεμῖς. The goddess thus identified by the Greeks with Leto was the Egyptian Bouto, earlier Udō, on whom see K. Sethe *loc. cit.* iii. 1086 f., H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 97. Hommel claims that she was originally the chief goddess of Punt and notes an Egyptian folk-tale, dating from the early part of the second millennium B.C., in which the serpent-king of Punt inhabits an Island of Ghosts that can suddenly sink in the waves (F. Hommel *op. cit.* p. 636, cp. *id.* *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythos und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901 p. 18 ff. Gruppe regards the Egyptian floating island Chemmis as, 'direkt oder mittelbar, the source of the Greek floating island Delos' (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2, cp. *ib.* p. 239). But definite evidence of Egyptian cult in Delos is late (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du iii^e au i^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 239 ff., *id.* *Delos colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 249 ff. 'Divinités égyptiennes').

o When Leto was in travail with Apollon, she went round the coasts and islands of the Aegean seeking a home for her future son. No place would accept him save Delos, and even Delos at first feared to do so, since he was like to be a froward and masterful child, who might on seeing the rocky nature of the island overturn it with his feet and sink it in the sea. Such fears were set at rest by Leto, who swore that her son should have his cult established in Delos and honour it for ever (*h. Ap.* 14—88). This passage suggests that Delos was unstable, if not actually afloat—a notion far more clearly expressed by Pindar, who definitely states that the island was driven about by winds and waves till Leto, as her time drew near, set foot upon it: then and there four pillars sprang from the abyss and bore up the rocky isle, where the goddess gave birth to the god (Pind. *frag.* 87+88 Bergk¹, Schröder *op.* Theophr. *ap.* Philon. *de inconvrpt. mundi* 23 p. 511 Mangey + Strab. 485, schol. *Od.* 10 3, Cramer *anc. ed. Paris.* iii. 404, 6 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 54 f., cp. Arrian. *frag.* 73 *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 f. Muller *ap.* Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 525, Plout. *de facte in orbe lunae* 6, Sen. *nat. quæst.* 6. 26. 3. L. Burchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2462 holds that Pindar in the same context represents Delos as 'vom Himmel gefallen.' That is hardly so. Pindar *loc. cit.* says ἄν τε ἱεροτοὶ Δῆλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τηλέφαντον κτανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον—hinting at the old name Ἀστέρια *supra* i. 543 n. 6 and working it into a metaphor of exceptional beauty 'U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Sappho und Simonides* Berlin 1913 p. 131 'Hier den Namen Asteria herauszuhören, ist etwas Ratselraten, aber wie grossartig ist die Vorstellung, dass die Erde für den Blick der Gotter eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns, auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, als ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet. Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen.' etc., quoted by Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*). But the metaphor of the fifth century becomes the myth of the third. ἀλλ' ἄφροτος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες, οὐνομα δ' ἦν σοι Ἀστέρην τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπεὶ βαθὴν ἦλασ τάφρον οὐρανύθεν φεύγουσα Διὸς γάμον ἀστέρη ἴση (Kallim. *h. Del.* 36 ff.).

The story of Delos, once afloat but now fixed for ever, was popularised by Virgil and became a commonplace in later literature (Varro *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 29, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73 ff. with Serv. and interp. Serv. *ad loc.*, Prop. 4. 6. 27,

Ov. *her.* 21. 82 ff., *met.* 6. 186 ff., 333 ff., Sen. *nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 3 f., *Ag.* 384 ff., *Hf.* 15, 457, Petron. *de Delo* 1 ff. *Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 101 Baehrens, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66, Stat. *Ach.* 1. 388, *Theb.* 7. 182 ff., 8. 197 f., Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 1. 701, 3. 439, 7. 182. Paneg. 3. 18 Jager = 4 9). 18. 2 Bahrens, Claud. 1 *in Prob. et Olyb. cons.* 185, 35 *de rapl. Pros.* 2. 34 f., *carm. min. append.* 2 *laudes Herculis* (p. 1418 Weber. 62 = A. Riese *Anthologia Latina*² Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 54 *carm.* 494^b: 62, Dracont. 10 594 f. *Poet. Lat. min.* v. 214 Baehrens), Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 52 ff., *in Dionys. per.* 561). The fullest form of the tale is that given by Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 73 = Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 4. 795, 5. 533, and *Ach.* 1. 206, Myth. Vat. 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8. 3, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 53, 140, Isid. *orig.* 14. 6. 21 = *Antonini Augusti itinerarium maritimum* p. 527 Wesseling post vitiatam Latonam Iuppiter cum etiam eius sororem Asterien vitare vellet, illa optavit a diis ut in avem converteretur, versaque in coturnicem est. et cum vellet maria transfretare, quod coturnicum est, adflata a Iove et in lapidem conversa diu sub fluctibus latuit. postea supplicante Iovi Latona levata superferri aquis coepit. haec primo Neptuno et Doridi fuit consecrata. postea, cum Iuno gravidam Pythone inmisso Latonam persequeretur, ternis omnibus expulsa. tandem aliquando adplicante se litoribus sorore suscepta est, et illic Dianam primo, post Apollinem peperit. qui statim occiso Pythone ultus est matris iniuriam. sane nata Diana parturienti Apollinem matri dicitur praebuisse obstetricis officium. unde, cum Diana sit virgo, tamen a parturientibus invocatur. haec namque est Diana, Iuno, Proserpina, nata igitur duo numina terram sibi natalem errare non passa sunt, sed eam duabus insulis religaverunt. etc.

Aristot. *frag.* 446 Rose *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66 (Solm. 11. 18 thought that Delos was so called because it had appeared suddenly on the surface of the sea—a notion repeated in schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 308 and expanded in *et. mag.* p. 264, 23 ff. Δηλος· ἡ ἱερά (so F. Sylburg for ἡ ἱερεία codd. F. G. Sturz *ej. νῆσος ἱερά* after Favorin. *lex.* p. 475, 21 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἴρηται ὅτι κρυπτομένην αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὁ Ζεὺς δῆλυν ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέδωκεν ἕνα τέκνη ἢ Λητώ· so, or with τέκοι, F. Sylburg for ἕνα ἢ Λητώ codd. A. Berkel *ej. ἕνα ἀνέστη Λητώ· Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐρασθεὶς Λητοῦς, τῆς Κοῖου θυγατρὸς ἐνὸς τῶν Τιτάνων καὶ Φοίβης, ἔγκλιον αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν· ἦτις, δεκαμηναίου χρόνου διυγενομένου, παρεγένετο διὰ θαλάσσης εἰς Ἀστέρων· Ἀστέρων Δ. Β. C. τὴν νῆσον, μίαν οὖσαν τῶν Κυκλάδων· ἐκεῖ τε ἐλθούσα καὶ ἀψαμένη δύο φητῶν ελαιίας καὶ φοίνικος, διδόμενος ἀπεκίχησε πύιδας Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα· καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκαλεῖτε Δηλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀδήλου ζωσεως ἐρριζώθη. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202 mentions Delos first in a list of islands that had so emerged, and Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13 supposes that such islands were thrown up by earthquakes of a particular type *brasmaticae*, cp. *brastae* Apul. *de mund.* 18 .*

(7) Delos set the fashion, and Patmos followed it F. G. Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1843 n. 338, *ib.* 1845 n. 270, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 1398, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2. An inscription found there and first edited by L. Ross *Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae* Athenis 1842 n. 72—74 no. 190 tells how Artemis appointed as her *hydrophoros* a girl named Vera, daughter of the physician Glaukias, who had crossed over from Argos?, and adds that Patmos the island of Leto's daughter had remained hidden in the depths of the sea till Orestes came from Skythia (?) and established there the cult of the Scythian Artemis (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 872. 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Appendix* 1. 258. 1 ff. (after R. Bergmann Berolini 1860 ἀγαθὴ τύχη· αὐτῇ παρθενικῆ ελαφροβόλος ἀρήτειραν | θήκατο κυδ[αλίμ]ην Γ[λα]υκίω θυγάτρα, ἑδροφόρον Βῆραν Πατίνην παραβώμ' ἐφέξαι | Kaibel prints παραβώμια μέξαι) σπαιρόντων αἰγῶν ἔμβρια καλλισθῶτων. | [εἶν Ἄργει δ' ἐγράφη γε]ρ[α]ρῆ π[α]ίς, ἡδὲ τισθῆνης | Kaibel prints ἡ δὲ

τιθήνη ἐ[κ γενῶς Β]ή[ρου] ἔκτροφός ἐστι Πατμος. ἡ ἴσσιος ἀ[γα]ν[ο]τᾶτη Λητωίδος ἢς προθεθήκε [Σ]ένθεσιν [εἰν ἀλῆς] ἐδρανα βυομένη· [εἰς ὅτε μιν Σκυθ][ῆ]θεν ἀρήιος εἶσεν Ὀρέστης [βυοσαμένην στυγερ]ῆς μητροφόνου μανῆς· [κᾶν] δεκά[τη] κούρη θυγ[άτηρ σοφοῦ ἡγήτρος Γλαυκί[εω ἢ α]λῆλαῖς Ἀρτεμίδος Σκυθῆς· Λιγαιῖοι πλείεσσα ῥοῦν δυοσχεῖμερον οἶδμα. ἄργια κ[αὶ] θαλίην, ὦς θεμῖς, ἡγλαῖσεν. εἰτυχῶς. I give the passage with all, or almost all, faults, but a fresh inspection of the stone is much to be desired. Artemis in Patmos was worshipped as Παρθένος. I. Sakkellion in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1863 p. 260 f. no. 229, 6 ff. τὸ ψήφισμα ἃ τὸδε ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην, καὶ ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Παρθένου· κ.τ.λ. and as Πατμία. I. Sakkellion *loc. cit.* p. 261 f. no. 230 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 785, *ib.* no. 1152 [Ἀ]ρτέμειδι Πατμ[ία] [ἀ]νέθηκε Ζω[ῆς] καθ' ἔπνο[ν]ς, cp. the month Ἀρτεμισιών. Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 681, 1, *ib.* no. 1068, 1. St. Christodoulos, Hagiographi Bollandiani *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* Bruvelts 1895 p. 23 f., U. Chevalier *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Bio-bibliographie Paris 1905 1. 916, a native of Nikaia in Bithynia born 1020 A.D., is said to have founded the monastery of St John the Evangelist in Patmos 1088 A.D. on the site of a temple of Artemis, whose statue he demolished. L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des agaischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tubingen 1843 II 137 n. 12. Ἐπεὶ ἔφαθεντες ἡ βιβλίοντες ἐν βυλαρεμ Θειολογῆσαι ἵστα βιολύβη: Πρώτον εἰσάντριψεν ἓνα εἰδῶλον ὅπου εἶχασι ἐκέι μέ τέχνην πολλήν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀρτέμειδος.

8. Rhodes was another island that had risen from the sea-bottom. A tale already ancient in 464 B.C. said that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing the earth among them, Rhodes lay hidden in the briny depths. Helios, who was absent from the division, complained that he was left without a portion. So Zeus was about to order a new casting of the lot. The sun-god, however, would not suffer it: for, as he declared, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom of the sea and destined to prove fruitful for man and beast. He bade Lachesis and Zeus swear that it should be his. Thereupon from the sea sprang the island, where Helios wedded Rhodos and begat seven sons, one of whom became the father of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 54 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.*, Rhodes was thus included in the canonical list of islands that had emerged from the sea. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13, and C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 p. 152 justifies its inclusion. Rhodes certainly rose from the sea. The great limestone mass of Mount Atabyros and the lesser limestone hills, Akramytis, Ehas, Archangelo and Lindos, must once have formed a group of islands and as these were gradually elevated, the lower hills were being formed round them by volcanic action. These facts were no doubt beyond the Rhodians of the mythicæ age, but the elevated beds of sea shells at the base of the hills would readily have suggested the legend. Perhaps in the Hellenistic age Isis, whose temple stood near the city-wall beside the sea. Appian. *Mithr.* 27, was believed to have raised the island from the watery abyss. That at least would square with the claim made on behalf of the goddess in an Iliac hymn of s. i B.C. found in Andros. Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* II no. 1796. 4. 23 ff. = Kibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1028, 70 ff. = E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiæ—Prague 1885 p. 301 ff. in *Isim* 158 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Apollod.* 4. 32. 70 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 739, 160 ff. νῆσος δὲ βαθυνομένης ἀπὸ ρίζαν ἔς φῶς ἐκ βυθίας ποτανάγαγον ἰδίος αἰτὰ | ὦρεα καὶ πε[δῖω]ν σποριμῶν βᾶσιν ὄργαδα τ' ἄκρας | σπηρικαῖς ἐξάϊρον ἵπερτείνουσα, βουάλοισ μαλοκόμο[ις] θ' ἀδεί]αν. A. H. Krappe in *Anglia* Beiblatt 1932 xliii. 256 ff. draws an interesting comparison between Pindar's description of Rhodes and James Thomson's *Rule, Britannia* 1740. In the former the emergent island becomes the personified Rhodos. In the latter

the same thing happens: the opening lines run 'When Britain first at Heaven's command / Arose from out the azure main,' etc., yet the burden 'Rule, Britannia' and the succeeding stanzas bring the allegorical figure to the fore.

(9) The Strophades, two islets off the coast of Messene to the south of Zakynthos, were originally called the Plotai (Antimachos *frigg.* 13 Bergk¹, 60 Wyss *ap. schol.* Paris. *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 296 ταύτας οὖν φησὶν τὰς νήσους Ἀπολλώνιος Στροφάδας μετὰ ταῦτα κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἐκείθεν ὑποστρέφει τοὺς Βορραείδας καὶ μηκέτι διώκειν αὐτάς. παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῖτο εἶληφεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ Λυδῇ περὶ αὐτῶν μέμνηται. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῖτο Στροφάδας φασὶν αὐτάς κληθῆναι ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ὑποστραφέντες οἱ Βορραδαὶ ἠῤῥξαντο τῷ Διὶ λαβεῖν αὐτάς. κ.τ.λ. cp. *σιβρῆ* ii. 907 n. 2, *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 285 νήσουσιν ἔπι Πλωτῆσι κιχόντες with *schol. ad loc.* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523. 25 ff. *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 296 f. Στροφάδας δὲ μετακλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι νήσους τοῖο γ' ἔκητι, πάρος Πλωτὰς καλέοντες, *Hyg. fab.* 14 p. 47. 17 ff. quae inhabitant insulas Strophadas in Aegaeo (sic) mari, quae Plotae appellatur, *Mela* 2. 110 olim Plotae nunc Strophades, *Plin. nat. hist.* 4. 55 ante Zacynthum xxxv in Eurum ventum Strophades duae, ab aliis Plotae dictae. The names are significant. The two Turning Isles or Floating Isles, haunted by the Harpies (Apollod. 1. 9. 21, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 210 ff., *Hyg. fab.* 19, *alib.*: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 398, 813 n. 8, 846 n. 5), are in all probability an early variant of the Planktai or Symplegades (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 556 n. 3 — a perilous gateway of the Otherworld).

(10) The same name Plotai was given by Dionysios the geographer to the seven islands of Aiolos in the Sicilian Sea (Dionys. *per.* 465 f. ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ ταὶ γ' εἰσίη, ἐπώνυμοι ἀνδράσι Πλωταί. οὐνεκα μέσσον ἔχουσι περίπλοον ἀμφιέλικτον with Eustath. and *paraphr. ad loc.*, cp. *schol. Ap. Rhod.* 2. 297 αἱ δὲ Πλωταὶ νῆσοι κείνται ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει. Homer had made Aiolos live πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ (*σιβρῆ* 11), and Apollonios had perhaps spoken of Hiera or Lipara as νήσου πλωτῆς (so *schol. Flor.* on *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 42 νήσου πλαγκτῆς *σιβρῆ* 2).

(11) Theophrastos speaks of Ploades or 'Floating' Islands on the lake of Orchomenos, i.e. Lake Kopais in Boiotia, and compares them with others in the marshes of Egypt, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 10. 2 φέεται δὲ ὁ πλείστος σε δαΐαγρος, 'goat-willow', *scilicet σιβρῆ* μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοαῶδων νήσων· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλοαῖδες, ὡσπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ περὶ τὰ ἐλη καὶ ἐν Θεσπρωτικῇ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις λίμναις. 4. 12. 4 τῶν δὲ νήσων τῶν πλοαῶδων τῶν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τὰ μὲν μεγεθῆ παντοδαπὰ τυγχάνει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅσον τριῶν σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ μάλιστα μεγάλα σφῦδρα συνίσταται, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγίνεσθαι πολλοῖς, οὓς καὶ κνηγετοῖσι διαζανοντες. *Hesych.* Πλοαῖδες τῶν ἐρχομενῷ <νήσοι> τινες so M. Schmidt² for πλοαδες· τῶν ἐπερχομένων τινές cod. οὕτω καλοῦνται. Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 1 καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ παχὺν ἴσ. κάλαμον· χαρακίαν τὸν δ' ἕτερον πλόκιμον· καὶ φέεσθαι τὸν μὲν πλόκιμον ἐπὶ τῶν πλοαῶδων τὸν δὲ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κωμνσι = *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 108 de Orchomeni lacus harundinetis acuatius dici cogit admiratio antiqui. characian vocabant crassiore firmioreque, plocian K. L. von Ulrichs *ej. plocimou* vero subtiliorem, hanc in insulis fluvitantibus natam, illam in ripis exspatiantis lacus. O. Gruppe held that these Boiotian islands were connected with chthonian powers thought to issue from the Underworld in the form of winds (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813). If so, note the belief that reeds used for pipes grew in the lake only at intervals of eight years (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 2 οἱ ἐνεατηριῶδες = *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 169 nono anno). But Gruppe's assumption is gratuitous. We are here dealing with purely natural phenomena. H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 192 observes

that the river Melas *Mauropotamos*, which crosses the site of Lake Kopais, is surrounded by black vegetable fens and quotes the peasants of Skripou as saying 'dass das Land am Mauropotamos schwimme.' He identifies these patches of unstable ground with the *πλωαδες* of Theophrastos and the *insulae fluitantes* of Pliny. A. Philippson 'Der Kopais-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1894 xxix. 39 and Geiger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1348 follow suit. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 120 says: 'The fable was probably told of the islands in the bay of *Tzimali*, to the north of Orchomenus, whose banks overhung and quaked under the tread, as do the banks of the river Melas in some places.'

12 Some five miles to the north of Sardeis lies the Gygaia Limne, later called the Koloc Limne, and now known as *Mermerch-Oheul*, the 'Marble Lake' L. Burchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1956, xi. 1107. Its brackish waters are fringed with dense beds of reeds W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 i. 145, which dry up and mixing with other detritus form floating islands G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Merminades* 687—546, Paris 1893 p. 13. A. H. Sayce, after a visit to the spot in 1879, writes: 'The foundations of the old temple of Artemis? are very visible on the southern shore of the lake as well as of a causey thrown out into the lake....The fish caught in it are carp, which are usually of a wonderfully large size. According to the local superstition every carp has a bitter stone in its mouth. If this is not removed before the fish is eaten fever will be the inevitable result. If, however, the stone is removed the fish is considered innocuous' *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1880 i. 87.

It is to this lake that we must attach a whole series of ancient notices about floating islands, dancing islands, dancing reeds, and poisonous fish. Attempts to distinguish the floating islands of Koloc from the dancing islands, reeds, etc. of the Nymphs H. Oehler *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* Tübingae 1913 p. 117 ff., cp. L. Burchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1532 are in my opinion unsuccessful.

The floating islands of Lydia are composed of light pumice-like stones Theophrast. *ap. Sen. nat. quæst.* 3. 25-7 sunt enim multi pumicosi et leves, ex quibus quæ constant insulae in Lydia, natant (Theophrastus est auctor). In Lydia the floating islands named Calaminae, which are shifted not only by the winds but by barge-poles in any direction you please, proved a refuge to many during the Mithridatic war Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 299 quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur, sicut...in Lydia quæ vocantur Calaminae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo libeat impulsæ, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salut'. Lake Koloc near Sardeis breeds many fish and waterfowl: its floating islands have a deceptive appearance of stability, for they change their position with the winds anon. *de aquis mirabilibus supra* p. 975: 39 ἢ κατὰ Σάρδεϊς λίμνη καλουμένη δὲ Κολὴ πλῆθος μὲν ὕψου ἀμπόλου τρέφει ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ νήσους οἰκουμέναις πρὸς ἀπάτην· ἐπινήχονται γὰρ καὶ τῆ τῶν ἀνέμων προῆ συμμετοικοῖσι· πτηρῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνὶ ὄρωσι τοσοῦτο τρέφει πλῆθος ὥστε καὶ ταριχεύεσθαι.

Varro claimed to have seen in Lydia the Islands of the Nymphs, which at the sound of flutes move out from the bank into the middle of the lake, go circling round, and return to the shore Varr. *ap. Mart. Cap.* 928 in Lydia Nympharum insulas dici, quas etiam recentior asserentium Varro se vidisse testatur, quæ in medium stagnum a continenti procedentes cantu tibiæ primo in circulum motæ dehinc ad litora revertuntur. He further states that, when he sacrificed on the shore of the lake, fish came crowding towards the flute-player and the

altar, though nobody ventured to catch them (Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 17. 4 loculatas habent piscinas, ubi dispaes disclusos habent pisces, quos, proinde ut sacri sint ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem [graecum] gregatum venisse dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos capere auderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi χορευούσας vidisses, sic hos piscis nemo cocus in ius vocare audet). Pliny, after his account of the Lydian Calaminae, goes on to say that in the Nymphaeuni too are small islands called Saliæ because, when choruses are sung, they move in time with the beating feet (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 sunt et in Nymphaeo parvae, Saliæ dictae, quoniam in symphoniae cantu ad ictus modulantium pedum moventur). Elsewhere he asserts, on the authority of Ktesias?, that the fish in the Lake of the Nymphs are poisonous (Ktesias *frag.* 83 Muller *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 25 hoc idem et in Lydia in stagno Nympharum tradunt)—a belief still prevalent with regard to the carp of the Koloe Limne (*supra*).

Strabon mentions the sanctuary of Artemis Κολορηή, on the Gygata or Koloe Limne, where 'the baskets' are said to dance on festal days (Strab. 626 ἐν δὲ σταδίοις τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως sc. Sardis ἐστὶν ἡ Γυγαία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένη <λίμνη ins. A. Koraeis >. Κολή δ' ὕστερον μετονομασθεῖσα, ὅπου τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Κολορηῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, μεγάλην ἀγιστείαν ἔχον. φασι δ' ἐνταῦθα χορεύειν τοῖς καλάθους (F. E. Kuhkopf, followed by G. Bernhardt and C. Müller, cj. καλάμους. E. Müller cj. κοζάλους. πιθήκους, a curious variant in codd. m, z and edd. Ald. Cas., was altered by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* Regimontu Prussorum 1829 p. 226 into πιθάκας, but may imply some confusion with καλλίας, 'apes,' which A. Westermann would restore to the text κατὰ τὰς ἐορτάς, οἷκ οἶδ' ὅπως ποτὲ παραδοξολογούντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντες = Eustath. *in II.* p. 365, 46 ff.).

Lastly, according to Isigonos the paradoxographer of Nikata, whose *floruit* probably falls in s. 1 A.D. (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2082. cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*¹¹ n. 1. 420 n. 5), in Lydia there is a lake called Tala? sacred to the Nymphs. It bears a multitude of reeds and in their midst one that the natives term king. A yearly festival is held, at which sacrifices are offered and a chorus sounds on the shore of the lake. Thereupon all the reeds dance, and the king dancing with them comes to the shore. The natives wreath him with fillets and send him off, praying that both he and they may come again another year; that is their sign of a fertile season (Isigonos *frag.* 8 *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 436 Muller *ap.* anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* 43 ἐν Λυδία ἔστι λίμνη Τάλα μὲν (C. Müller, followed by L. Burchner, cj. Καλαμίνη. But cp. *II.* 2. 865 ὡς Ταλαμίνους, τῷ Γυγαίῃ τέκε λίμνη, where Ταλαμίνης may be a Greek adaptation of the Lydian name καλονμένη, ἱερά δὲ οὐσα νυμφῶν, ἣ φέρει καλάμων (A. Westermann cj. καλλιῶν? πλήθος ἄφθονον καὶ μέσον αἰτῶν ἔνα, ὃν βυσιδέα προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἐορτὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐναντίους ἐξιλάσκονται. τούτων δὲ ἐπιτελουμένων, ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊονος κτίπος συμφωνίας γένηται, πάντες οἱ καλάμοι χορεύουσι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς χορεύων παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊονα. οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι ταυρία αὐτὸν καταστέψαντες ἀποπέμποσιν, εὐχόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιὼν αἶτον τε καὶ ἐαντοῦς παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εἰσηρίας ὄντι σημεῖον (F. Sylburg cj. ὅν τι σημεῖον. ὡς ἰστορεῖ Ἰσιγονος ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπίστῳ).

Isigonos' work was entitled *Ἄπιστα*, but his statements here are by no means incredible and may easily be reconciled with those of our other sources. Artemis Κολορηή (on whom see Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1108 f.) had a temple on a hill close to the southern shore of the lake (its ruins

are still to be seen, including walls of great basalt blocks, three Doric columns of weather-worn marble only 6 ft. high, and huge stone slabs with reliefs of an archer in a pointed cap, a lion's head, etc. E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 152, von Olfers 'Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabhugel des Alyattes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1853 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 542 pl. 1 = Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 267 fig. 157. Her cult involved a yearly festival, at which a dance known as *oi kalathoi*, 'the baskets,' took place. The beating feet of the dancers communicated their vibration to the floating reed-mats of the lake and set them in motion. The reeds eddying round appeared to share in the dance. The tallest reed, called *βασιλείς* by the countryfolk, would in time be drifted inshore, decorated by the worshippers, and pushed off into the lake again. The successful performance of this little ceremony was deemed a happy omen. The crowd at the lake-side and the prospect of altar-craps would be quite enough to attract the carp. Naturally the fish were sacred to Artemis of the lake—see e.g. the large Boeotian amphora, found near Thebes, which represents Artemis with a fish on her robe. Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 108 f. no. 462, figured by P. Wolters in the *Epφ.* 1892 p. 219 ff. pl. 10, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 517, 2, Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 40 f. fig. 30, R. Eisler *Orpheus—the Fisher* London 1921 p. 260 f. pl. 64, 1 wrongly described, F. J. Dolger *ΙΧΘΥΣ* *Munster in Westf.* 1922 ii. 179 f., iii pl. 12, 2, and the facts cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1295 n. 1, 1536 n. 2, 1585 n. 2 and the reed-islands would be connected with her attendant Nymphs. The whole story is consistent and credible. After all, Varro was no visionary and Strabon is a serious authority.

A point of interest remains. The dance *καλαθος* is mentioned elsewhere in the diminutive form *καλαθίσκος*. Apollonophanes, an early comedian, coupled it with the pirouette *Απολλοφ. frag. 1 Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 879 Meineke *ap. Athen.* 467 F *δείνος ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οἴτωσι* 'δείνων τι δείνος' so J. Schweighäuser *foi δείνος τι δεινός* cod. A. J. G. J. Hurmann *ε, δίνος γε δεινός καὶ καλαθίσκος οἴτωσι* K. W. Dindorf would write *ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως τι δείνος, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οἴτωσι* 'δείνος καὶ καλαθίσκος, regarding *οἴτωσι* as a repetition of *οἴτωσι*, and various later writers mention it in a tragic satyric connexion. Poll. 4. 105 *καὶ μὴν τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμῆ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπρηνής, ξίλον παράληψις, διπλή, θερμαστρίς, κενόστησις, παραζῆναι τέτταρα*, Athen. 629 F *σχήματα δ' ἔστιν ὀρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθισμός, καλλιζίδες, σκόψ, σκόπνευμα, θέρμαστρίς, ἐκατερίδες, σκοπος, χεῖρ καταπρηνής, χεῖρ σιμῆ, διποδισμός, ξίλον παράληψις, ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος* (so codd. A. B. *καλαθισμός* cod. P. edd. Ald. Casaub., *σπρόζιδος*).

It should be carefully distinguished from the *κάλαθος* or ritual basket used in the cult of Demeter at Eleusis. Clem. Al. *prot. 2*, 21. 2 p. 16, 18 ff. *Stahlin* *κάστι τὸ σύνθημα Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων: ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κικεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ κάλαθου εἰς κίστην*, on which *Journalist* see A. Dieterich *Einm. Mithrasliturgie* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 125 f. and S. Angus *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* London 1925 p. 115, Athens, Alexandria. Kallim. *h. Dem.* 1 ff. *τῷ καλάθῳ κατώτος ἐπιφθέγγασθε, γυναικες, Ἰάματερ, μέγα χάρη, πολυτρόφῃ ποιλυμέδμυνη, τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαρὰ θεοείσθε, βέβαλοι, κ.τ.λ.* with *schol. ad loc.* ὁ Φιλαδέλφους Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔθη τινὰ ἴδρυσεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν τοῦ καλάθου προσόδον, ἔθος γὰρ ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν ὀρισμένη ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ ὀχήματος φέρεσθαι καλάθιον

καλάθου cod. E. εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος. Variants in the text of Kallimachos are attested by Elias in *Aristotelis categorias* 27 a 24 ff. (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* xviii. 1. 125, 7 ff. Busse) καὶ τὸ Καλλιμάχειον ἐκείνο τὸν καλάθου κατιόντα χαμαὶ δέρεσθε, γυναῖκες. μηδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγεος μηδ' ὑψόθεν ἀγάσασθε (ἀγάσσησθε Kallim.) and by schol. Plat. *symph.* 218 B 960 b 47 f. ed. Turic.) ἐντεῦθεν παρῶδησε Καλλιμάχος ἐν ἔμνῳ Δήμητρος καλάθου τὸ 'θήρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι.' *Ib.* 121 ff. χῶς αἱ τὸν καλάθου λευκότριχες ἵπποι ἄγοντι | τέσσαρες, ὡς ἄμιν μεγάλη θεὸς εὐρύ-
 ἀνασσα λευκὸν ἔαρ λευκὸν δὲ θέρος καὶ χεῖμα φέροισα | ἤξει καὶ φθινόπωρον, ἔτος δ'
 εἰς ἄλλο φυλαξεῖ. Bronze coins of Alexandria show a *kálathos* containing corn-
 ears and poppy-heads (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 66 no. 551 pl. 30=
 Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 95 no. 931 pl. 16=my fig. 792 Trajan), sometimes bound with
 a wreath of flowers and flanked by two torches with snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*
Coins Alexandria p. 4 no. 29 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 939 pl. 17=my



Fig. 792.



Fig. 793.



Fig. 794.



Fig. 795.



Fig. 796.



Fig. 797.

fig. 793 Livia, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 405 no. 21 Livia) or fillets (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*
Coins Alexandria p. 42 no. 345 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 940 pl. 17=my
 fig. 794 Domitian, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 42 no. 346 Domitian,
 p. 144 no. 1212=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 942 Antoninus Pius or ties of some
 sort (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 105 nos. 903, 904, 905 pl. 30=Anson
Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 941 pl. 17=my fig. 795 Hadrian, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 457
 nos. 392—394. Fig. 796 Hadrian is from a specimen of mine. Once the *kálathos*
 is adorned with the rape of Persephone (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria*
 p. 105 no. 906 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 932 pl. 16=my fig. 797 Hadrian.
 More often, on large billon pieces, it appears drawn in procession by a *quadriga*
 of horses (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 552 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.*
 i. 96 no. 935 pl. 16=my fig. 798 Trajan), or a *biga* of humped oxen (*Brit. Mus.*
Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 553=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 934 pl. 16=my
 fig. 799 Trajan) or of winged snakes wearing the *skhent* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*
Alexandria p. 67 no. 554 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 933 pl. 16=my fig. 800
 Trajan, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 555 f. Trajan, *Hunter Cat.*
Coins iii. 434 no. 245 Trajan). Exceptionally it rests on the top of a column
 flanked by two winged snakes, one of which wears the *skhent*, the other a poppy-
 head as crown (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 557 pl. 30=my fig. 801

Trajan, *Hunter, Cat. Coins* iii. 456 no. 390 pl. 87, 24=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 937 pl. 16= my fig. 802 Hadrian, and *Darmutia* near Theira in the valley of the Kaystros K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 xx. 241 f. and A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 538 f. ΟΙΚΑ—..... Πό πλιον; Αἴλιον Μενεκράτην τῆ ἱερατεία τῆς Δήμητρος ἀνεένκαντα καὶ καθιερώ [σ]αντα κάλαθον περιμαργυρον, τὸν λείποντα τοῖς τῆς Δήμητρος μυστηρίοις καὶ τῷ προκαθημένῳ τῆς κωμῆς Μηρὶ σημήαν 'effigy', περιμάργυρον τὴν προπομπεύσασαν τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ. διὰ τε τοῦτο καθιέρωσεν ἐπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυσίας τῆς Δήμητρος τὰ πρὸ τῆς [οἰ]κίας ἐργαστήρια εἰς τὸ [κα τ'] ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον τῆ



Fig. 798.

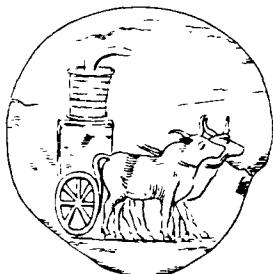


Fig. 799.



Fig. 800.



Fig. 801.

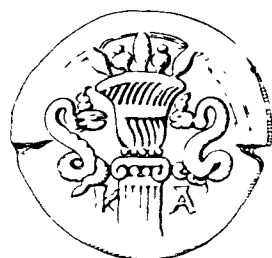


Fig. 802.

τοῦ καλάθου | ἀναφορᾷ τοῖς κληρωθέντας εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἄνδρας μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων προτίοντας εἰωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου. ἐπι ἀρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας Λοκίων Βερίου Βάισσον φιλοσεβιάστον καὶ | τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ. cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 352 n. 2 K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 82 cites also Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1627. 49 f καλάθους, ὁποῖα καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἷς ὀρχεῖσθαι μῦθος ἐν τινι τελετῇ Δημητρεϊακῇ, but fails to perceive that Eustathios is merely confusing the Lydian dance with the rites of Demeter as described by Kallimachos Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1208. 38 f., *in Od.* p. 1488. 60 f.). More to our purpose is Usener's discovery that in Bithynia a certain yearly festival was known as ὁ καλάθος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος H. Usener 'Übersehenes' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1895 l. 143 f. (= *id. Kleine Schrift.* n Leipzig-Berlin 1913 iv. 195 quoting *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Iunius iii. 343 B-C Kallimikos *vita s. Hypatii* presb., monasterii Rufinianarum prope Chalcedonem in Bithynia hegumeni (died 30 June 446 A.D., commemorated June 17 70=*de vita s. Hypatii* 129 f. p. 96 f. edd. seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales ποτὲ δὲ γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀδελφῶν εἰς τὴν ἔνδον χώραν τῶν Βιθυνῶν

ὅπου καὶ ὁ Ῥήθας ἐστὶ ποταμός. καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ κάλαθος τῆς μυσερᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος· ὅπερ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ χάρα φιλάττουσα, οὐκ ἐξήρχοντο εἰς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα. αὐτοῖ δὲ βουλομένοι οὐδεῖεν ἔλεγον αὐτῷ οἱ ἐντόπιοι· ἴποι ἀπέρχη, ἀνθρώπε; ὁ δαίμων σοι ἔχει ἀπαντήσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. μὴ ὀδεύσης· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπήρεάσθησαν. ὁ δὲ Ὑπάτιος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐμειδίασε λέγων· ἴμεῖς ταῦτα φοβεῖσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὸν συνοδείουτά μοι Χριστόν. ἐν τῷ οὖν ὀδεῖεν αὐτὸν θαρσαλέος Ἰθασιεύς (codd.) ἦν· δίκαιος γὰρ ὡς λέων πέποιθεν (Prov. 28. 1. ἀπήνησε δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ μακρὰ· H. Usener cj. μακραιά? The Bollandists print μακρὰ ὡς δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὸ μῆκος. νήθουσά τε περιεπάτει καὶ χοίρους ἔβοσκεν. ὡς οἶν εἶδεν αὐτήν, εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐσφράγισεν καὶ ἔστη εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκείνη ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ χοῖροι μεγάλῳ ῥοίῳ ἐφιγον. καὶ διῆλθεν ἀβλαβής;—a fact which Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 255 justly connects with another Bithynian festival, the κάλαθος-procession of Kios (A. Korte in the *Ath. Mittl.* 1899 xxiv. 413 ff. no. 13 on a marble *stèle* near the sea at *Gemlik*, the ancient Kios or Prousius, in lettering hardly later than 100 A.D. and perhaps as early as s. 1. B.C. [---] λασομέν[αις ἱερεῖς] δαιτρ[ε]νέτω ἀνήρ· πᾶσαι ἀνιδίποδες (W. Kroll, followed by A. Korte, cj. ἀνειδίποδες 'with no trailing feet, with active feet,' and M. P. Nilsson cj. ἀνιπτίποδες 'with unwashed feet,' cp. *supra* ii. 959 f.; but K. Latte rightly restores ἀνήλιποδες 'with unshod feet,' cp. Theokr. 4. 56 where all codd. give ἀνήλιπος or ἀνάλιπος except cod. k νήλιπος)· τε [κα]ι εὔμασι, φαιδρυνθ[ε]ῖσαι τῷ καλάθῳ συνέπεσθε, τὰ δὲ ἰχρῖσ εἰα θέτ' οἴκοις· δηρ[ο]θε γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐχθραίνει το[ι]σιν ὁ ἐπροσα[υ]δᾶ ('of old she ?) hates trinkets and welcomes simple garb,' cp. e.g. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 736, 15 f., 22 Andania, no. 999, 2 ff. Lykosoura). The contents of these ritual baskets were almost certainly sexual emblems (*phallós? kteis?*), cp. the Cabiric basket in Phrygia and Etruria *supra* i. 107 f., ii. 299.

If the Lydian dancers represented the reeds of the Gygaia Limne, they might no doubt sway and curtsy with mimetic motions. A tomb at Beni Hasan shows the dances performed at the funeral feast of the nomarch Chnemhôtep in the twelfth dynasty (J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 ii. 416 no. 291 fig. 1, R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1849—1859 iv. 2 pl. 126 = my fig. 803, Text herausgegeben von E. Naville—L. Borchardt—K. Sethe Leipzig 1904 ii. 88, P. E. Newberry *Beni Hasan* London 1893 i. 68, 72 pl. 29 (tomb 3, west wall), P. Richer *Le nu dans l'Art Égypte—Chaldée—Assyrie* Paris 1925 p. 240 fig. 405 after I. Rosellini *I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia* Pisa 1834 ii pl. 101, 3). 'One figure... parodies a royal group, one of the frequent victory reliefs, in which the monarch seizes the kneeling barbarian by the hair, and swings his sickle-shaped sword above his head. This group is called "Under the feet," the superscription over the relief being always, "all nations lie under thy feet." Another group in the same picture is called *the wind*: one woman bends backwards, till her hands rest on the ground, a second performs the same movement above her, a third stretches out her arms over them. Possibly the former represent the reeds and grasses bent by the wind (A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 248 f., with fig., cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle, Saale 1926 p. 24 fig. 24 (= my fig. 804), A. Weigall *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art* London 1924 p. 258 fig. from a limestone fragment at Turin referable to the reign of Seti I (1313—1292 B.C.), H. Ranke *The Art of Ancient Egypt* Vienna 1936 fig. 268 assigned to Dynasty XX c. 1180 B.C.), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2, 507 f. fig. 452 a, b, c ('Female Egyptian Tumblers of Social and Ceremonial Occasions'). A surer method, however, of identifying the dancers

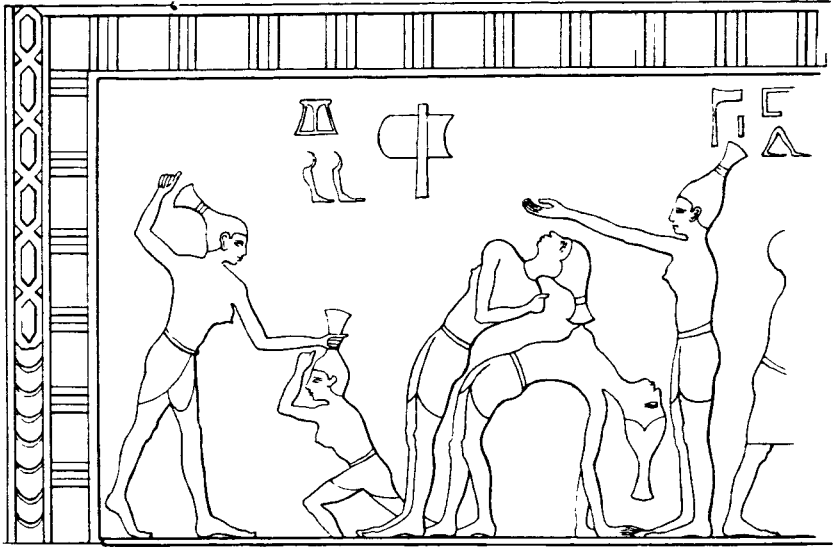


Fig. 803.

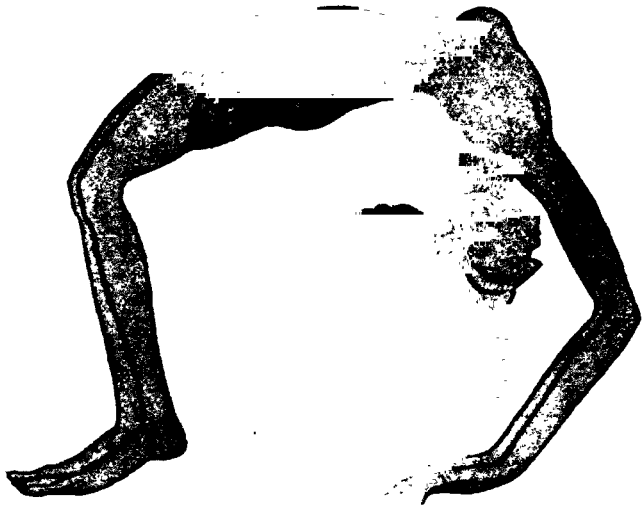


Fig. 804.



Fig. 805.

with the reeds was to give them a head-dress of rushes or basket-work such as Laconian women called *σαλία* and others *θολία*. Hesych. *σαλία*: πλέγμα καλάθῳ ὁμοιον. ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦσιν αἱ Λάκαιναι. οἱ δὲ θολία. It figures not infrequently on works of art and has been the subject of much speculation. L. Stephani *Nimius und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 111 ff. extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St-Petersbourg*. vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie ix. 471 ff. *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 pp. 27 ff., 57 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 2 and 3. T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897 xxi. 605, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv 1037 f. fig. 6063 f., V. K. Müller *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* Berlin 1915 pp. 28, 82 ff., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1549, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 263.

The earliest ceramic example of *kalathiskos*-dancers occurs on a red-figured *hydria* from Noli, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 531 ff. no. 3232, which may be dated c. 450—440 B.C. C. Watzinger in Furtwangler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 319 ff. figs. 151—154 pl. 171, 1 = my fig. 805. It is decorated with four groups of female dancers and acrobats. The section of the shoulder-frieze here reproduced shows, on the right, a seated flute-player ΕΛΠΙΝΙΚΕ, before whom on tip-toe pirouettes a dancing-girl (...ΓΟΝΕ) with hand outstretched in the gesture known as *σιμή χεῖρ* Poll. 4. 105 *τραγικῆς ἀρχαῖος σχήματα σιμῆ χεῖρ, καλάθισκος, χεῖρ καταπρανῆς, κ.τ.λ.* Hesych. *σιμῆ χεῖρ σχῆμα τραγικόν*). To the left of her, a second dancing-girl sinks on her knee, to show that her performance is finished. The musician who has accompanied her lays aside the double flutes and takes up a *kithára*. Behind her stands an interested youth leaning on his staff. Each dancer wears a short *chiton* and a high crown of leaves painted white. A volute-*kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto, of early south-Italian style. P. Wullemier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 197—202 and at greater length *ib.* 1933 ii. 3—30 with figs. 1—7, of which fig. 4 = my fig. 806. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photographs of detail reproduced in my pl. XXI, (1—3), represents the following subjects. *A.* Dionysos *nánthex, kántharos* seated on a rock between a dancing Maenad *thyrsos* and a flute-girl long *chiton*; on the left, a female torch-bearer short *chiton* with sleeves, *akhrís, andromides* and a bearded Satyr *thýrsos* on the right. *B.* 1) Perseus dangling the Gorgon's head before five bearded Satyrs in dance-attitudes—apparently a scene from Satyric drama. 2) A square pillar inscribed ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ *i.e.* Apollon *Kárneios* in south-Italian aniconic form: cp. *supra* i. 36 ff. pl. iii, ii. 815 fig. 781, to the right of which is a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers. One is about to put on his basket as ritual head-dress (cp. the figure in the lower left-hand corner of the *pelike* from Ruvo, wrongly interpreted by me *supra* i. 128 pl. xii). A second, crowned with palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) = *frag.* 2 Tresp *ap.* Athen. 678 Β Θυρατικοί: οὔτω καλοῦνται τινες στέφανοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Θυσίων, ψιλίνους (cp. Hesych. *s.vv.* ψιλίον, ψιλὸς στέφανος) αὐτοῖς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἅντας ἐκ φοινίκων, φέρειν δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν

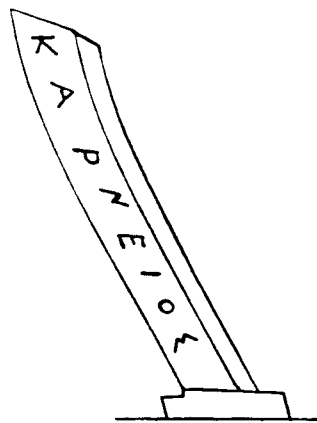


Fig. 806.





1



2

(1—3) Details of *krater* from Ceglie, now at Taranto: a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers.

See page 996 f.





Θυρέα γενομένης νίκης τοῖς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. κ.τ.λ.), holds an *aryballos* with straps, as he stands between a basin and a draped flute-player (flutes, *phorbeia*). A third and fourth are dancing, the former decked with palm-leaf crown, the latter dressed as a girl with basket on head and ballooning *chiton*. A fifth, also wearing the basket, stands engaged in talk with a spectator. Mr Trendall compares an unpublished *kalyx-kratēr* from *Scoglitti* near Kamarina, now at Syracuse (no. 14626), which shows: *A.* A woman and a youth with basket



Fig. 807.

head-dress. *B.* Two draped youths. * The main scene is framed between two Ionic columns. The woman is elaborately draped, and holds up her hands as if to catch something thrown to her by the boy. He is nude with the large basket (in applied yellow, which has worn off) on his head, as on the Taranto Karneia-kratēr. * Again, a bell-kratēr of early south-Italian style, purchased in Rome and now at Leyden (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Afdeling Griekenland en Italië. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 104 no. 28), has for obverse design a girl in a short *chiton* dancing between two naked youths. All three wear spreading *kalathoi* formed of reeds (?) arranged like rays. Two wreaths are hung in the background, and the scene is enclosed by a pair of simple pillars (V. K. Müller *Der Polos*,

die griechische Cotterkrone Berlin 1913 p. 83 n. 3 pls. 6 and 7. My fig. 807 is from a photograph supplied by Mr Trendall. This must be the vase from Gnathia Fasano, formerly owned by R. Barone and partially published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuova Serie* 1854 ii. 184 pl. 14 facing head

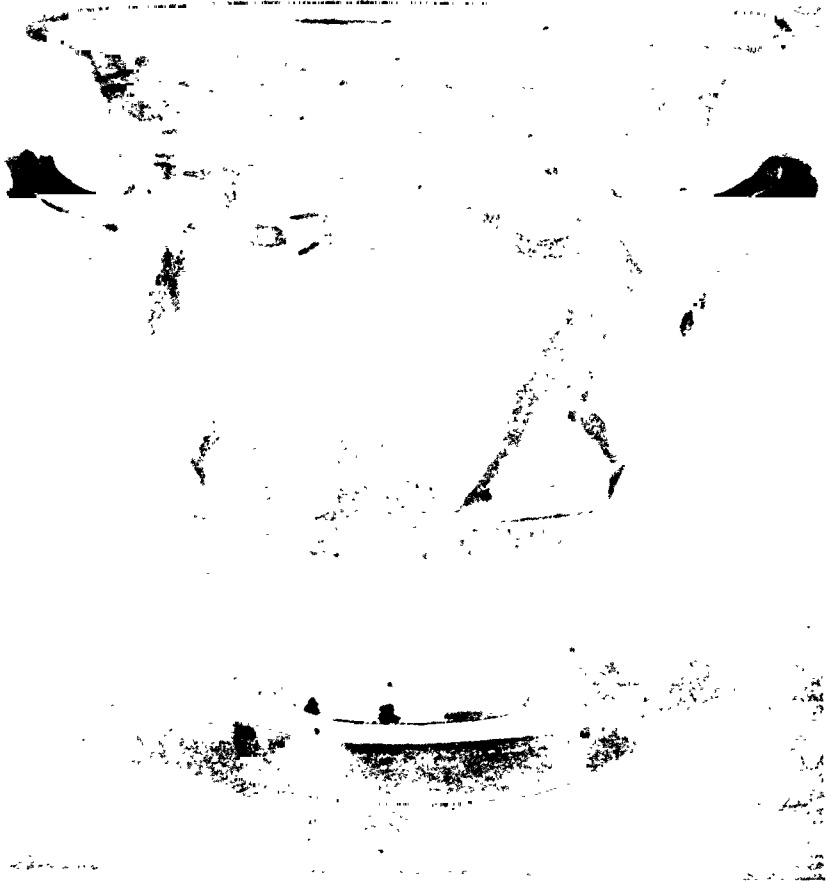


Fig. 808.

of dancer only). Another bell-*kratêr* of the same style, from Ruvo?, now in the South Kensington Museum, and attributed by Miss Moon (Mrs Oakeshott) to 'the Sisyphus painter,' represents a similar scene—two naked youths wearing spread *kálathoi* of reeds (?) and gesticulating as they dance on either side of a bearded flute-player in a long *chitôn*. Noel Moon in *Papers of the British*

School at Rome 1929 xi. 30 ff. pl. 12 (= my fig. 808), C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xlv. 101 with fig. 6. Mrs Oakeshott *loc. cit.* notes another bell-*kratér* by the same hand and exhibiting the same subject in the collection of Dr A. Ruesch at Zurich (*Ruesch Sale Catalogue* 1936 no. 14 pl. 22. The vase is now in the Wolfensperger Collection, 23 Maienburgweg, Zurich. My fig. 809 is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs Oakeshott); the man in the centre here pirouettes. Similarly on a red-figured bell-*kratér* at Berlin (inv. no. 3326), which A. Furtwangler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1895 x Arch.



Fig. 809.

Anz. p. 39 f. fig. 16 (adequate describes as being 'in schöner Zeichnung der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges' and R. Zahn in Furtwangler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 193 n. 84 calls 'attischen,' but C. Watzinger *ib.* iii. 323 takes to be 'wohl eher böotischen als attischen...aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts,' a girl wearing a short *chiton* of foldless embroidered stuff suggestive of barbaric ? Lydian' attire and the reed-crown of a *kalathiskos*-dancer capers before young Dionysos, who is sitting on a broad three-stepped base or platform. Eros, leaning against his shoulder, points to the lively dancer. Behind her, an Ionic column painted white implies a sanctuary; and beyond it stands a Maenad equipped with *nebris*, *thyrsos*, and large *tympanon* (K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 57. like Furtwangler, thought it a

shield. The best available illustration of this ritual scene is a photographic cut in H. Licht *Sitzungsberichte Griechentums* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 122. With it should be compared a bell-*kratér* of Paestum style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 97 no. F 188, P. F. H. d'Hancarville *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton* Naples 1767 iv col. pl. 118, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. v. E. a pl. 2, 3 a and 3 b with text p. 4 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce), on which the youthful Dionysos holds out fruit to a male *kálathískos*-dancer performing before him (my fig. 810 is from the official photograph), and an Apulian bell-*kratér* from Rugee at Berlin (B. Schroder in *Le Ren. Mitth.* 1909 xxiv. 119 fig. 6), on which is a male dancer of like aspect.



Fig. 810.

Once more, on a late red-figured bell-*kratér* at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 299 no. 1778, *id.* in the *Compt. rendu St. Pé.* 1869 p. 236 Atlas pl. 6, 4 and 5 = my fig. 811; Reinach *Rep. Vas.* i. 32, 5 and 7) a girl wearing the short *chiton* and *kálathiskos* places the *pinakiskion* on the *kóttabos*-stand for a recumbent feaster (hardly Dionysos, as F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 68 supposed).

Other early examples of the *motif* are to be found among the limestone reliefs of c. 420—410 B.C. that decorate the inner surface of the *herôion* at Trysa. The doorway on the southern side is here flanked by two female (?) dancers wearing a large *kálathos* perhaps originally painted with a design of reeds or rushes (cp. the dancing-girl with yellow *krótala* and a white *kálathos* marked with red rays in a tomb-painting of s. iv (?) B.C. found in 1854 at S. Maria in Fondo Vetta, south of the amphitheatre at Capua, and published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 183 f. pl. 14, P. W. Forchhammer in the *Mon.*

Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. 1854 p. 63, F. Weege 'Oskische Grabmalerei' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 111, 130, 135 no. 25. A Lydian dance might well reappear at Capua, where the Etruscans held sway till 445 or 424 B.C. (C. Hulsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1556). The lintel above has a frieze of eight grotesque and Bes-like musicians wearing the same head-dress: they have



Fig. 811.

been taken to be the eight Phoenician Kabeiroi on whom see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 772 f. fig. 918 and R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1909 xii. 672 ff., and are commonly associated with the dancing figures below them (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Heroon von Gjolbaschi-Trysa* Wien 1889 pp. 58, 95 f. pl. 6 = my fig. 812, S. Reinach in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1892 viii. 306 ff.

with fig. on p. 295 = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 ii. 299 ff. with fig. 435. *id. Rép. Reliefs* i. 444 no. 1, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 204 with fig. 97, H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1907 xxii. 238).

Between c. 425 and c. 400 B.C. may be placed certain silver *statères* of Abdera, which have as reverse type the magistrate's date ΕΓΙ ΜΟΛΠΑΓΟΡΕΩ and the canting badge of a similar dancing girl turned left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*

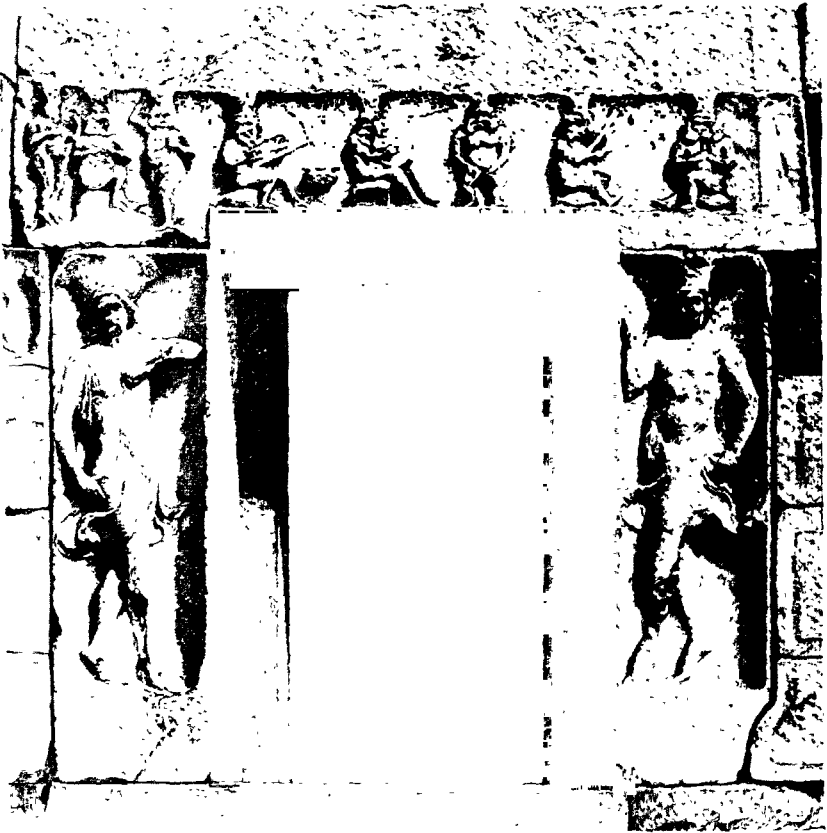


Fig. 812.

The Taureic Chersonese, etc. p. 70 no. 35 fig., p. 230 no. 35 a (my fig. 813 from a cast. *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 68 pl. 4, 38. *Ant. Münz. Nord-Grichenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 99 pl. 3, 2, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff. pl. 2, 22, H von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 21, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 492 pl. 22) or right (J. Millingen *Sylloge of ancient unedited coins of Greek cities and kings, from various collections* London 1837 pp. 30, 33 pl. 2, 13, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 67, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Grichenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 100 pl. 3, 1 Berlin, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff.

pl. 2, 21 (=my fig. 814) Paris, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909,iii pl. 2. 20 Paris, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 493 pl. 22, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 4. 897 f. pl. 335, 15 Paris, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 144 pl. 28, 13 Berlin.



Fig. 813.



Fig. 814.

Closely related to these numismatic examples are the dancers carved on two slabs of Pentelic marble, which were brought from Italy to Berlin in 1892 (figs. 815, 816 are from C. Blumel *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* Berlin 1931 iv. 45 f. nos. K 184 and 185 pl. 77, cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle Saale 1926 p. 45 figs. 48 and 49). The more complete relief measures 0.95^m high by 0.54^m broad; the less complete, 0.80^m high by 0.56^m broad. It seems probable that, like three similar but fragmentary reliefs at Athens (H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 346 figs. 315, 316), they were intended for mural decoration. The reliefs at Berlin exhibit such delicious freshness and *abandon* that R. Kekulé, who first published them in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii Arch. Anz. p. 76 with two figs., did not hesitate to regard them as Attic work dating from the earlier half of 5. v. B.C. (cp. M. Sauerlandt *Griechische Bildwerke* Dusseldorf—Leipzig p. x 'aus dem Anfange des v. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 90 no. 1456 f. pl. 26 'Griechische Werke des 5. Jh. v. Chr.', F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 45 'aus demselben Künstleratelier der 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.'). But Furtwangler *Masterpieces of Grk. Sculpture* p. 438 n. 3 with greater circumspection claims that they are only 'good specimens of the so-called later Attic school, by no means genuine archaic works' cp. *id. Ueber Statuenkopfen im Altertum* München 1896 i. 4 n. 3 (= *Abh. d. bayr. Akad.* 1896 Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 528 n. 3).

If so, they must be ranked with the *kalathiskos*-dancers of Arretine ware (c. 150 B.C.—50 A.D.) discussed by H. Dragendorff in the *Bonner Jahrbucher* 1895 xcvi—xcvii. 58 ff. A *skyphos* from Capua has four dancers grouped in pairs. Between the two pairs is a small Eros standing on a pillar, and between the dancers of the right-hand pair is a *thymiateron* (H. Dragendorff *loc. cit.* figs. 14, 14 a after Riccio *Notizie degli scavi nel suolo dell' antica Capua* Napoli 1855 pl. 5). A fragmentary mould found at Arezzo in 1896 and now in the British Museum shows four girls likewise dancing in pairs and wearing a head-dress of open wicker-work. Above them runs a wreath to which festoons are looped up with large bows. Between the pairs of dancers a flower springs from the ground (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 34 no. L 108, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493 f. pl. 66, 5). Another specimen, in the Loeb collection, has a very similar dancer standing between two bases (?) with a festoon fastened to *bucrenta* behind her and a flower or flowering rush (?) at her feet (F. Weege *op. cit.* pp. 45, 48 with fig. 51 after G. H. Chase *Guide to Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* Harvard University no. 53 pl. 3). Another mould



Fig. 817.



Fig. 816.

in New York shows the dancer, once more between two bases (?) with a festoon of vine and ivy behind her (G. M. A. Richter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 15 fig. 4). Again, fragments of a mould found near the church of S. Maria in Gradi at Arezzo and now in the museum of that town represent two such dancers facing left. In front of one is a Dionysiac herm, in front of the other a fighting Athena, each effigy set on the top of an Ionic column G. F. Gamurrini reported by G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1884 p. 372 gruppo v nos. 1—3 pl. 7, 2). The moulds found with this bear the signature of that admirable craftsman M. Perennius, on whom see M. Ihm in the *Bonner Jahrbucher* 1898 cii. 114 ff., H. B. Walters *op. cit.* pp. 483, 492, 494 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* pp. xvii, xv, xxii.

Similarly the upper part of a Roman mural relief in terra cotta, made during the first half of Augustus' reign and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Berlin, figures a facing Palladion flanked by two *kalathiskos*-dancers, whose pink garments contrasted with a blue background Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 248 pl. 18, Furtwangler *op. cit.* p. 438 fig. 179, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1332 fig. 8. A fragment in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 412 no. D 646 fig. 76 gives the head and shoulder of the right-hand dancer. More complete but less delicate is the *replica* in G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842 p. 37 f. pl. 4, cp. *Le Musée d'Aix* Paris 1882—1921 p. 477 no. 1588. Another example in the Casino of Pius iv in the Vatican Garden is published by Muller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 151 pl. 20. 214 a.

Neo-Attic reliefs, which perhaps imply Attic originals of s. 1 B.C. (F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 53 f., Ada von Netoliczka *ib.* 1914 xvii. 132), make use of similar *motifs*. A three-sided base of Flavian date .69—96 A.D. in the Museo Archeologico at Venice is adorned with two *kalathiskos*-dancers and an ecstatic Maenad. Each figure is framed by an over-elaborate and meaningless combination of ram's head, lion's leg, and bust of winged female Sphinx wearing a rayed *kalathos*, on which kneels Nike with spread wings L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu. St. Pé.* 1865 p. 60 no. 6, H. Heydemann *Mitteilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 65 n. 154, F. Hauser *Die neo-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 100 f. no. 31, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2469—2471 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 432 nos. 4—6, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 47). A second and exactly similar base in the same collection is due to a copyist of the Renaissance (*Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2472—2474 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold). Another three-sided base in the Louvre again couples the *kalathiskos*-dancers with a Maenad, whose head and right arm are a misleading restoration. The framework here with its rams' heads at the upper corners is of a simpler and more satisfactory sort Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 343 f. pl. 167 fig. 77 and pl. 168 fig. 78 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 61 no. 3 and i. 62 no. 1, Muller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 133 pl. 17. 188, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 29. Height 1'01^m). Yet another three-sided base, in the Villa Albani, shows three such dancers, of whom one uplifts a dish of fruit before a rude stone altar with fruit laid out upon it and a fire burning, a second stands before a similar altar, and a third before a reed-plant springing from the ground G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 20 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 152 nos. 1—3, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 146—152 pl. 7. 12, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 2, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 19, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 67 f. no. 816. Height of

figures 0.30^m). A large *kratér* of Italian marble with grey stripes, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has on one side a snake-entwined tripod, from which flames are rising, flanked by a pair of Nikai filling *phiálai* from their raised *oinochóai*, on the other side an exact repetition of the central and left-hand dancers on the Villa Albani base described above—a repetition which includes both the altar with fruit and the reed-plant springing from the ground.



Fig. 817.

Under each handle are two *thýrsoi* laid crosswise. The handles themselves end in large ivy-leaves (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 638 no. 66, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 18, Mrs S. A. Strong in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 24 f. no. 33 pl. 17 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 531 no. 3 f. Height 0.80^m; diameter c. 0.80^m. The surface has been worked over, but the authenticity of the vase is above suspicion. A marble relief in the Villa Albani figures a couple of *kalathískos*-dancers facing each other in front of an edifice with two ranges of pilasters G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 t. 111—118 pl. 21 = Reinach

Rép. Reliefs iii. 151 no. 1, L. Stephan *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 3, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 21, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 38 f. no. 769, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1913 ii. 422 f. no. 1867, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 52 from a photograph (my fig. 817, H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 73 fig.), which shows that—as Hauser observed—the *kalathoi* are largely restored. The restoration affects the left hand of the dancer on the right, both hands, the right foot, and the lower part of the left leg of the other dancer, together with the rocky foreground and portions of the architectural background. Height 0'85^m. A finely worked relief of Pentelic marble in the Lateran collection preserves the single headless figure of a similar dancer turned towards the right in front of a wall with pilasters (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 19 no. 3499). A fragment now in the Sala Lapidaria of the Arcivescovado at Ravenna also gives a single *kalathiskos*-dancer from the knees upwards with the remains of a flat pilaster and wall (H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 65 no. 5, C. Ricci in *Ausonia* iv. 258 with fig. 10). Another in the Palazzo Farnese shows a single dancer of the same sort (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 19 no. 3499³). Finally, a marble *putrel* in the Palazzo Doria represents two pairs of *kalathiskos*-dancers fronting each other amid a fine growth of tendrils. They are here assimilated to Nikei by having large wings on their shoulders (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 112 no. 3678, cp. Comm. Datti in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 98).

Looking back over the evidence thus detailed we gather that the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Arretine sherds, the Roman mural terra cottas, and the neo-Attic reliefs are archaistic derivatives of similar types already existing in the second half of s. v B.C.—witness the Naples *hydria*, the door-jambs at Trysa, and the coins of Abdera. Furtwangler acutely conjectured that the original from which they are all descended was a famous masterpiece (in archaising bronze relief?) by Kallimachos, the *saltantes Lacœnæ* described by Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 92 as 'a work of faultless technique, but one which has lost all charm through over-elaboration' (Furtwangler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 438). This conjecture has been widely accepted and is indeed highly probable. But the further attempt to name the dancers Karyatides and to connect them with architectural 'Caryatids' in general (P. Wolters in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* Neue Folge 1895 vi. 36—44 after Visconti *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iii pl. 6, ii, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 44 ff.) is in my judgment a mistake (cp. *supra* ii. 535 n. 2.). I incline to the following solution of the problem. Alkman, who came to Sparta Σαρδίων ἀπ' ἀκρῶν (Alkm. *frag.* 24. 5 Beigk⁴, 2. 5 Edmonds. 13. 5 Diehl *op. Steph. Byz. s.v.* Ἐρυσίχη, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 709. 1 ff. (Alexandros (of Aitolia?)), 7. 18. 3 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike, Krates (of Mallos?), *op. Soud.* s.v. Ἀλκμάν), is known to have composed *parthénia* for Artemis and other deities. Moreover, he wrote for the Spartan Gymnopaïdiai songs to be sung by boys and men wearing 'Thyreatic' crowns made of palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Muller *op. Athen.* 678 B cited *supra* p. 996 f.). Such a poet can hardly have failed to import into Sparta the famous *kalathiskos*-dance of his own Sardsis. It was perhaps formerly figured on an inscribed but mutilated *stèle* of s. iii B.C., found in the Amyklæon (B. Schroder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxiv. 29. 31 with fig. 2). Identical with it, or at least akin to it, was a dance performed at the Spartan festival of Promacheia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 470, when the Perioikoi as distinct from the Spartiatai wore a crown of reeds (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 4 *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Muller) = *frag.* 1 Tresp *op. Athen.* 674 A καὶ γὰρ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχείων ἑορτῇ, ὡς φησι

Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν γράφων οὕτως· 'ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χάρας καλάμοις στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ σπλεγγίδι (cp. Plout. *insit. Lac.* 32 σπλεγγίσιν οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀλλὰ καλαμίνας ἐχρῶντο, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παίδας ἀστεφανώτους ἀκολουθεῖν'). Another ritual link between Lakonike and Lydia is noted by L. Stephani, who observes in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1865 pp. 31, 58 that the cult of Artemis Ὀρθία at Sparta involved a *Λυδῶν πομπή* Plout. *v. Aristid.* 17. Cp. the case of Artemis Κορδάκα at Olympia (Paus. 6. 22. 1 with H. Hitzig—H. Blumner *ad loc.*).

Three dancing-girls in like attire surmounted the very beautiful acanthus-column of Pentelic (not Parian) marble, which stood on the north side of the Sacred Way at Delphi, close to the votive offerings of the Syracusan princes. Arranged back to back round a central stem, the girls supported the *libes* of the bronze tripod whose legs rested upon the leafy capital. This group of dainty light-footed damsels in some ways anticipates the art of Praxiteles. Indeed, T. Homolle in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 31—67 figs. 1—6 was prepared to regard it as a contemporary replica of the Praxitelean figures called Thyiades and Karyatides' later to be seen in the gallery of Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 23). But C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brunn 1929 p. 48 f. has shown that the Dancers' Column was found in the same deposit as the Charioteer, *i.e.* in the *débris* caused by the earthquake of 373 B.C. and should therefore be accepted as pre-Praxitelean and referred to a date perhaps as early as the late fifth century (S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133). In any case we may admit that the Delphian dancers with their crowns of 'sharp-ribbed rushes' are a composition of infinite grace, which forms a later *c.* 400 B.C. variation on the *saltantes Lacœnae* designed by Kallimachos and owes its ultimate inspiration to the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Lydian lake-side. See further the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1 pl. 15 the column restored by A. Tournaire, with tripod-legs supported by dancers, iv. 2 pls. 60 (the dancers = my fig. 818); 61 'the dancers, another view', 62 head of one dancer in profile; É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 188—192 fig. 63 f., F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 pp. 246—264 figs. 113—128, and especially H. Pomtow 'Die Tänzerinnen-Säule in Delphi' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv. 113—128 with figs. 1 = my fig. 819, 2—6, who is followed by A. Rumpf in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv fig. 128.

A gold earring in the F. L. von Gans collection of the Berlin Antiquarium further attests the popularity of the *motif* in the fourth century B.C. It represents a dancing-girl with short *chiton* and high *kalathos* her left arm is raised, her right is missing *Antliche Berichte aus den konigl. Kunstsammlungen* (Beiblatt zum *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*) 1913 xxxv. 76 with fig. 37 c.

A bronze statuette, formerly in the Gréau collection, again shows a dancing-girl with short *chiton* and basket-like head-dress Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 242 no. 9) after W. Froehner *Collection Julien Gréau. Bronzes* Paris 1891 pl. 95), as does a Hellenistic terracotta in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux *Les Terres cuites Grecques* London 1936 pp. 23, 50 fig. 54, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Paris 1937 ii. 199 with text by Mme Massoulé). But examples of the type 'in the round' are rare, for terra-cotta dolls from Myrina with elaborate head-dress *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 243 no. C 522 pl. 35, Mendel *Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople* p. 378 f. no. 2640 pl. 8, 6 are hardly to be classed as *kalathiskos*-dancers.



Fig. 818.

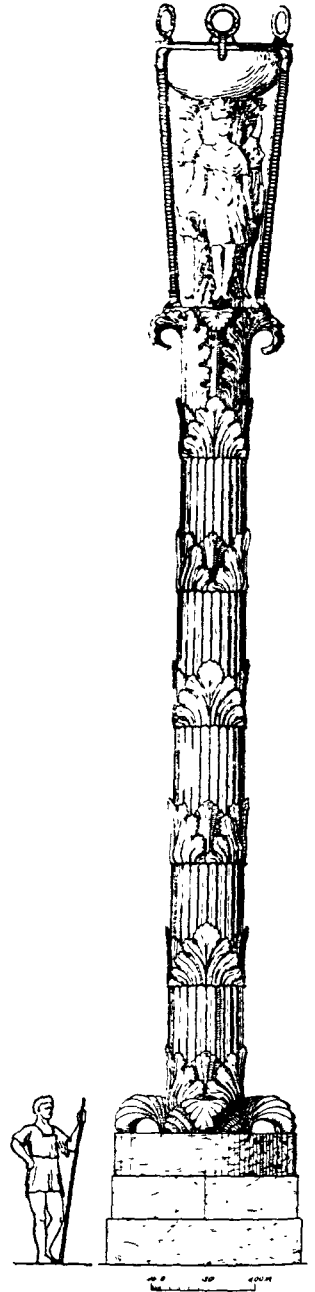


Fig. 819.

Similar figures are found on gems of imperial date, either alone as on a specimen in my collection (fig. 820: scale $\frac{1}{4}$), or else with a palm-branch (Furtwangler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 284 no. 7668 pl. 57 cornelian, no. 7669 cornelian) or a *hydria* containing a palm-branch (*id. ib.* p. 284 no. 7670 pl. 57 sardonyx) before them. The palm-branch is here apparently a later substitute for the original reed-plant.



Fig. 820.

Important confirmation of this hypothesis is afforded by terracotta plaques of Hellenistic date found at Praesos in eastern Crete. They show a girl with short *chiton* and spread *kálathos*, who is dancing in front of a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed (E. S. Forster in



Fig. 821.

the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 255 with fig. 17 = my fig. 821 (height 23^{mm}), cp. F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 390 pl. 12, 5^v.

In this connexion it may be noted that some would see a phallic significance

in the reed. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhīśānā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1917 p. 33 quotes Dion Cass. 72. 12 ὅτι Ἄστυγγοῦ, ὃν ῥᾶος τε καὶ ῥάπτου ἡγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν κ.τ.λ. and explains that ῥᾶος and ῥάπτου, 'Rush' and 'Rafter,' imply the phallic god of fertility conceived as a Reed cp. Finnish *Sampsa*, 'scirpus' and a horizontal Roof-beam. But his etymologies and his symbolism seem equally precarious. He would do better to cite the myth of Pan and Syrinx (H. Ostern in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1642 ff. as illustrated on imperial bronze coins of Thelpousa in Arkadia (K. Wernicke *ib.* iii. 1356, 1467 fig. 25 after *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 204 no. 3 Septimius Severus pl. 37. 23, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 102 Geta, Vienna pl. T. 24, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 456: see further F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 134).

With the extension of the *kalathiskos*-type to runners in the Lampadedromia as represented on a series of vases c. 400 B.C. (Daremborg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 910 f. figs. 4328—4330 we are not here concerned. One such vase, that signed by the potter Nicias (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 218 f. no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1923 p. 466 no. 1), is reproduced on the five-drachma postage-stamp designed by J. N. Svoronos for the Greek government and issued at Athens in 1906 to commemorate the 'Olympic Games.'

(13) Floating islands are reported from various districts of Italy. Thus one or more of them existed *in agro Caecubo* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). The allusion is probably to the Lacus Fundanus (*Lago di Fondi*) in the marshy plain between Fundi and the sea (C. Hulsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1244).

(14) In the country of the Sabines a lake known as *Aquae Cutiliae*, between Reate (*Rieti*) and Interocrium (*Introdoco*), was reckoned 'the navel of Italy' (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 109, Solin. 2. 23). It could boast a floating island (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *loc. cit.* and in *de ling. Lat.* 5. 71, covered with trees and grasses and so easily moved by the wind that it was never to be seen in the same place for a day and night together (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *not. quæst.* 3. 25. 8 f., cp. anon. *de aquis mirabilibus supra* p. 975. 37). If the Greeks dubbed it *Κοτίλη* (oracle of Zeus at Dodona *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 10, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28, Steph. *Byz. s.v.* Ἄστυγγοῦς = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 177, Paul. ex Fest. p. 51, 8 Müller, p. 44. 22 f. Lindsay), that was a well-meant etymology of the *Aquae Cutiliae* Ἰθάρα Κοτίλια. Of greater interest is the account given by Dion Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 15 (after Varro): 'At a distance of seventy furlongs from Reate is Kotylia, a famous town, situated at the base of a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, four hundred feet across, full of spring water which is always flowing and—so they say—has no bottom to it. This lake, having a touch of divinity about it, the natives deem sacred to Victory (sc. Vacuna). They enclose it round about with fillets, that nobody should approach the water, and preserve it as a spot unprofaned by human tread except on certain yearly occasions for *καιροῖς τισὶ διετησίους* cod. Vat. has *καιροῖς τισὶν ἐτησίους*, when they offer customary sacrifices and particular persons charged with the office land on the small island in it. The island is some fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than one foot above the level of the water. It has no fixed position and floats round here there and everywhere, the wind turning it now hither now thither. A plant resembling sedge grows upon it and sundry bushes of no great size—a thing inexplicable to those who have not seen the handywork of nature and a marvel second to none.' On which E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 721 comments. 'It is evident that this marvel arose from the incrustations of carbonate of lime formed by the

waters of the lake, fragments of which might from time to time be detached from the overhanging crust thus formed on the banks: the same phenomenon occurs, though on a smaller scale, at the *Aquae Albulae* near Tibur. ([Sir W.] Gell [*The Topography of Rome (and its Vicinity)* London 1834 i. 74, *ib.*² London 1846 i.] 41. ... The Cutilian Lake still exists under the name of *Pozzo di Ratignano* or *Latignano*, though apparently reduced in size by the continual incrustation of its banks; but the floating island has disappeared.)

(15) Two islands in the *Lacus Tarquiniensis* (more often called the *Lacus Volsiniensis*, nowadays the *Lago di Bolsena*, a *quondam* crater near Volsinii) are described as floating groves blown by the winds now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). It is not clear how these two islands—the *Isola Martana* and the *Isola Bisentina* (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 52 *Vesentini* and *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi nos. 2910 *Honori Visentium*, 2911 *Virtuti Visenti* = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 3796, 3796^b)—could suggest either a triangle or a circle, let alone a square. G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 ii. 29 shakes his head: ‘Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of [the lake-side]? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still capt with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the breath of *Eolus*.’ Possibly Santa Cristina, the virgin-martyr of *Bolsena* (July 24), who was cast into the lake and touched bottom—witness her footprints on the rocks—but, despite the millstone round her neck, would not drown and, after gruesome sufferings, had to be bound to a tree and shot with arrows, should be regarded as the Christian successor of a pagan lake-goddess *Diana*? On her see the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1727 *Julius* v. 495 ff. ‘*De S. Christina virg. et martyri apud Lacum Vulsinium, ut volunt, in Tuscia*’ *Passio* 2. 11 p. 526 F *Urbanus*... *jussit eam ligari ad saxum, & medio mari dare præcepit: cumque hoc fieret, saxum disruptum est, & ipsa ab angelis suscepta est, & ita pedibus super aquas maris ferebatur*, 2. 17 p. 528 A *Julianus* irâ commotus *jussit mammillas ejus abscindere*. *Christina* dixit. *Lapidem cor & abominabile, mammillas meas abscidere jussisti; respice & vide, quia pro sanguine lac in terram defluxit*, 2. 18 p. 528 B *Tunc iratus Julianus duas sagittas [misit] in eam, unam ad cor ejus, & aliam contra latus ejus, & cum peruteretur, cum gaudio reddidit spiritum*), S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 viii. 527–531 p. 530 ‘on this day [July 24], as we are solemnly assured, her head is seen to swim about the lake’, M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 26, 143, 193, *alib.*, K. Kunstle *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 153 f. The tradition that she walked the water and the belief that her head still swims recall the floating islands mentioned by Pliny. Such wonders die hard.

(16) The *Lacus Statoniensis*, identified by P. Cluverius *Italia antiqua* *Lugduni Batavorum* 1624 p. 517 with the *Lago di Mezzano*, a tiny sheet of water about five miles west of the *Lago di Bolsena*, had once a floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, *Sen. nat. quaest.* 3 25. 8, and perhaps *Strab.* 614), but now has none, ‘so that we must either reject Cluver’s conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described, and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake’ (G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 i. 494 f.).

(17) The Vadimonis Lacus, another lakelet of Etruria, lying on the right bank of the Tiber about four miles above Horta *Orte* and in modern times variously termed the *Laghetto* or *Lagherillo* or even *Lago di Bassano* or *Basanello* from a village in the neighbourhood, could boast in antiquity not only one floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614 but several (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 38 ἔστι δὲ καὶ λίανκος Οἰαδίμωνος καλουμένη λίμνη οἱ μεγάλη ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὁμοίως ἔχουσα ἤσθια πλείονα πάση πρὸς μετακινούμενα). An interesting account of them is given by Plin. *epist.* 8. 20 (trans. W. Melmoth rev. W. M. L. Hutchinson): 'I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular (in similitudinem iacentis rotae circumscriptus et undique aequalis; there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy: it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures. Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred: but several grassy islands swim about it, covered with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape: but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy: for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view: the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent: sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds: at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately [at times the wind falls dead and they are left floating in isolation A B C.] You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat: or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other, then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake: only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship: and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.' 'But,' says G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 i. 144, 'he who would expect Pliny's description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either never had an existence, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.'

(18) A floating island *in agro...Mutinensi* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209) is mentioned but once and has not been further identified.

(19) Yet another, on the Lacus Benacus '*Lago di Garda*', the largest of all

the lakes in Italy, is said to have been inhabited and to have been planted with trees 'anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λίμνης καλουμένης μὲν Βηνάκου, ὅσης δὲ τὸ περίμετρον σταδίων φ' (on its real size see E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 389 or C. Hulsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 268), νῆσός ἐστιν οἰκουμένη κατὰφυτος δένδρεσιν ἡμέροις ἐπινηχομένη καὶ μεταβαίνουσα πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων φοράς.

(20) Lastly, at (Aquae) Salsulae in Gallia Narbonensis, the modern *Salces* or *Salses* on the western bank of the *Étang de Leucate*, was a whole plain, green with fine slender reeds and afloat on underlying water. The centre of it, detached from its surroundings, formed an island which could be pushed away from you or pulled towards you. Holes made in the surface of this plain showed the sea beneath; whence ignorant or lying authors had stated that fish were here dug out of the ground (Mela 2. 82 f., cp. Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 89, Polyb. 34. 10. 2—4, and perhaps Liv. 42. 2, also Theophr. *frug.* 171. 7. 11 f. Wimmer. Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 176, 178, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 16. 5, 3. 17. 3, Iuv. 13. 65 f.). See further E. Desjardins *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine* Paris 1876 i. 251 f., 256 f. and Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* 1 A. 2012.

It will be obvious from a survey of the foregoing passages that floating islands as such made a deep impression on Greeks and Romans alike and were almost always regarded with naive feelings of awe and veneration. Such phenomena attached themselves readily to the cult of the local deity, often a lake-goddess, and at least in one case gave rise to a popular ritual and an art-type of remarkable beauty. We must not, however, lend an ear to the persuasions of a latter-day mythologist, who would have us believe that the floating islands of Greek story were originally nothing but drifting clouds (F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 69 n. 1 'es sind immer ursprünglich die Wolkeninseln der Sage'). Earthly fact *plus* heavenly fancy will amply suffice to explain the whole flotilla (see e.g. the Celtic parallels in Sir J. Rhŷs *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 i. 171 f., W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 ii. 591. H. Guntert *Kalypsos* Halle a. S. 1919 p. 145 f.). Doubters should visit Derwentwater and enquire for the Floating Island near Lodore which 'appears periodically about the middle of October at intervals of four years' (M. J. B. Baddeley *The English Lake District*¹⁰ London 1906 p. 130 with Append. by E. D. Jordan p. 11). It has been studied with scrupulous exactitude by G. J. Symons *The Floating Island in Derwentwater, its History & Mystery, with notes of other dissimilar islands* London 1888 pp. 1—64 Frontisp. map of the south-east portion of Derwentwater showing the position of three floating islands on Aug. 27. 1884, p. 19 ff. list of recorded appearances from 1753 to 1888 A.D., p. 23 ff. notice of other floating islands, etc.). Another interesting case is examined by Maunetta Pallas 'The Structure and History of Flay: the Floating Fen of the Delta of the Danube' in the Linnean Society's *Journal Botany* 1916 xliii. 233—290 pls. 11—25

APPENDIX Q.

THE PROMPTING EROS.

The evolution of this artistic type deserves fuller treatment than it has yet received. Its successive stages may be exemplified as follows:

1) A small plaque of reddish gold, found in the third shaft-grave at Mykenai, shows a nude Aphrodite—Astarte?—pressing her breasts, with a dove flying over her head. A second plaque of yellow gold, from the same grave, repeats the *motif* but adds two other doves flying from her shoulders (H. Schliemann *Mykene* London 1878 p. 180 f. fig. 267 f., C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 197 f. fig. 180 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 652 fig. 293 f., Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 101 f. fig. 38 f., Stais *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 13 ff. no. 27 fig., Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 223 with fig. 169, H. T. Bossert *Altgriechenland* Berlin 1923 pp. 32, 220 fig. 311 e., G. Karo *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* München 1930 33 p. 48 pl. 27, 28 and 27 (=my figs. 822, 823).



Fig. 822.



Fig. 823.

2) A bronze mirror-stand from Hermione, Greek work of c. 600—550 B.C., now in the Museum antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, represents a nude Aphrodite with two human-headed birds—Sirens—perched on lotos-flowers to left and right of her shoulders (J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgerät* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 19 front = my fig. 824 and back).

3) Towards the close of s. vi B.C. other variations were attempted. A bronze mirror-stand from Corinth, now at Athens, figures Aphrodite, draped in Ionic *chiton* and *himation*, holding a dove in her right hand, while two winged Sphinxes rest a forepaw on either shoulder of the goddess (Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes* p. 337 no. 11691 fig., C. D. Mylonas in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 161 no. 1 pl. 14, 1, E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1890 ii. 249 no. 2 pl. 33). Another bronze mirror-stand, Greek (Corinthian? Argive?) work of c. 500 B.C., formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has Aphrodite in Ionic *chiton* and Doric *péplos*, but replaces the soul-

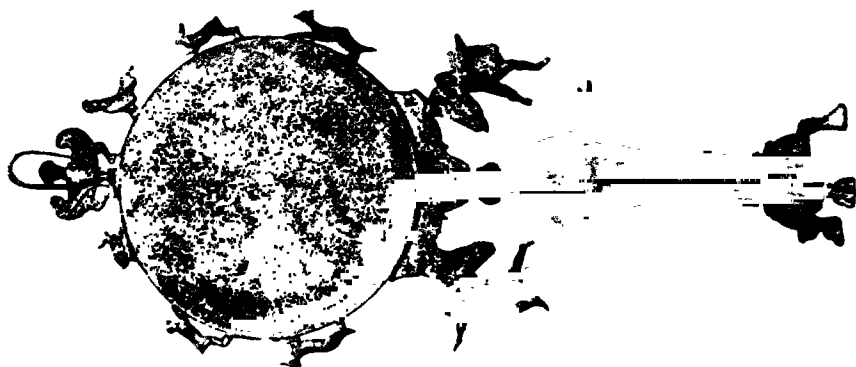


Fig. 826.



Fig. 825.



Fig. 824.

birds by two winged female figures 'Nikai?', who fly towards the shoulders of the goddess with one hand outstretched and a small object ('perfume-vase??') in the other 'A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 631 Richmond no. 39, Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 38 no A 8 pl. 45, *a* front, *b* back wrongly described as 'two hovering Erotes', Sir C. H. Smith in *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wymaham Francis Cook, Esqr.* London 1908 ii. 114 Bronze no. 46 pl. 35 = my fig. 825: 'two hovering Victories', K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronze-statuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 45 fig. 25 'zwei ... Siegesgöttinnen'.

4 Numerous bronze mirror-stands of *s.* vi—v listed by E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *op. cit.* ii. 249—253: see also Mrs A. Strong *loc. cit.* p. 38 figure an archaic or at least severe Aphrodite flanked by a pair of Erotes hovering above her shoulders e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 24 no. 241 pl. 4 Athens, p. 24 no. 242 Sounion, p. 24 f. no. 243 pl. 4 Corinth, De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 43 no. 1687 pl. 77 Hermione, ii. 43 f. no. 1689 pl. 77 Corinth, ii. 44 no. 1691 pl. 77 = my fig. 826 Greece, ii. 44 no. 1692 pl. 77 Corinth, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes* p. 335 no. 7576 6576 is apparently a misprint with fig. on p. 336, J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 20 Boston.

5 About the decade 450—440 B.C. Eros was represented on reliefs in terra cotta or marble as standing on the arm or stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite *supra* ii. 1043 fig. 892, 1044. From this it is not a far cry to—

(6) a *kratēr* from Falerii, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which dates from the period of the Peloponnesian War and shows Eros whispering in the ear of Hebe *supra* ii. 737 fig. 668, or again to a *kratēr* from Ruvo, now at Naples, which likewise belongs to the latter part of v. v B.C. and makes the small kindred figure of Himeros, kneeling beside the right shoulder of a goddess Aphrodite? a Muse??, stretch out his arms to crown a tragic mask held in her left hand Heydemann *Vasensamm. Neapel* p. 546 ff. no. 3240 'Muse', J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 viii. 303 ff. 'Aphrodite', *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 31, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 114, 1 'Muse', B. Arnold in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 120 f. fig. 29, M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 91 ff. fig. 97 pl. 48 'Muse', P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 ii. 415 ff. fig. 298.

(7) This conception of Eros or Himeros as a small figure haunting the shoulder to proffer his amatory advice becomes a commonplace on vases produced during the earlier part of *s.* iv B.C. in the style of the Meidias-painter G. Nicole *op. cit.* pl. 10, 6—8, pl. 11, 18, e.g. on a *hydria* from Ruvo at Karlsruhe Winnefeld *Vasensamm. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259, F. G. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 172 ff. no. 59, *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 403 ff. no. 59, E. Gerhard *Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1845 p. 32 f. pl. D. 2, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 233 ff. no. 67 Atlas pl. 11, 1, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 141 ff. pl. 30, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 65 ff. pl. 2, 2, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 185 f. no. 20, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 595 f. iii. 241 fig. 595, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 459 no. 3, *supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi: Aphrodite and Alexandros, on a *hydria* from Populonia at Florence (L. A. Milani *Monumenti scelti del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* Firenze 1905 i pls. 4 and 5, 3, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. pl. 3, 2, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 185 no. 17, P. Ducati

op. cit. ii. 399 ff. fig. 290, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 593 ff. iii. 240 fig. 594, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 4: Eros with Chrysothemis, Himeros with Adonis), on an *aryballos* from Athens in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 345 f. no. E 697, Furtwangler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 99 f. pl. 78, 2, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 1 pl. 7, 1, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 196 no. 60, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 401, 403 fig. 291, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 14: Eros seated on the left shoulder of Aphrodite), on an *aryballos* from Ruvo in the Jatta collection (A. Michaelis *Thamyris und Sappho auf einem Vasenbilde* Leipzig 1865 pp. 1—18 with pl. D. Comparetti in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* Firenze 1888 ii. 59—64 no. 4 pl. 5=Reinach *Rép. Vases* 1. 526, 1, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1727 f. fig. 1809, G. Jatta 'La gara di Tamiri con le Muse' in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1888 iii. 239—253 pl. 9, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 96 f. pl. 7, 4, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 192 no. 47 *bis*, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 12: Eros seated on the right shoulder of Sappho (ΣΑΟ), two Erotes to right and left of Aphrodite, of whom one lets fly a bird, the other points). Cp. a *hydria* from Nola in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 55 f. no. F 90 pl. 2: Eros stoops to touch the right shoulder of a seated female).

(8) The same conception persists throughout *s.* iv B.C. on Attic vases of the 'Kertch' variety such as a *hydria* from Juz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamm. St. Petersburg* ii. 383 ff. no. 1924, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1861 pp. 124—127 Atlas pl. 5, 1 and 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* 1. 9, 4 and 3, Furtwangler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 102 f. pl. 79, 1: Eros leans on the right shoulder of Paris, a second Eros seated above the right shoulder of Helene looks towards him (ἀποσκοπεῖν), a *kratér* from Juz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamm. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 and 6, L. Wemger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, *supra* ii. 262 pl. xvii: Eros, standing by Aphrodite's right shoulder, touches her breast), an *aryballos* from Juz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamm. St. Petersburg* ii. 389 f. no. 1929, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1861 p. 127 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 3 and 4=Reinach *Rép. Vases* 1. 9, 2 and 1: Eros hovers behind the shoulders of Paris, another Eros with torches hovers beside Helene), a *pelike* from Kameiros in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 261 f. no. E 424, A. Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros* Paris 1875 col. pl. 59, A. Conze in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* ii pl. 6, 2, 2^a, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 427 f. fig. 306: Eros hovers above Peleus as he seizes Thetis), a *hydria* from Kyrenaike in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 179 f. no. E 227, G. Dennis in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* Second Series 1870 ix. 181 f. pls. 3 and 4, Furtwangler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 103 f. no. 2 pl. 79, 2: Eros standing on the right upper arm of Herakles offers him apples from the tree of the Hesperides), and finally a *hydria* from Alexandria at Munich (Furtwangler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 204—208 pl. 40, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 432 f. fig. 310, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 712, iii. 244 fig. 598: Eros, reclining above the head of Paris, leans on the left shoulder of Aphrodite).

(9) B. Schröder in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. pp. 364—367 figs. 1—6 and, at greater length, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde* 1925 xxxv. 85 ff. contends that the type of Lysippos' statue in bronze representing Herakles deprived of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Plan.* 103. 1—6 (Geminus), 104. 1—6 (Philippos)). see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 279 no. 1474, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 425) can be recovered from a vase in the Louvre, a mirror at Athens, a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and sundry gems, which show the hero with a youthful Eros on his shoulder. Schröder

further supports a suggestion first made by A. von Le Coq *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* Berlin 1925 pp. 26, 83 fig. 159 (Pāñcika and child *viz.* that Herakles with Eros on his shoulder ultimately gave rise to the legend of St Christopher bearing the Christ-child for bibliography etc. see K. Kunzle *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 pp. 154—160 figs. 56—68. It is, however, far from certain that such was the *motif* of Lysippos' bronze: and another possible prototype for St Christopher and the Child is the Pompeian Polyphemos driven by the infant Eros *infra* p. 1023.

10 Eros at-the-shoulder was a *motif* obviously better suited to painting or to bas-relief than to sculpture in the round. Nevertheless Hellenistic art produced, not only such types as that of a marble statuette from Pella in Macedonia, now at Christ Church, Oxford, which shows Eros standing on a tree trunk and leaning against the right shoulder of Aphrodite (Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 21 no. 28 pl. 27 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 231 no. 5), or that of a terra cotta from Myrina, now in the Albertinum at Dresden, which makes him stand on a pillar and rest his hand on her left shoulder (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 84 fig. 9), but also the type of the little fellow leaning forward all agog over his mother's left shoulder e.g. the bronzes in Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 632 D figs. 1295 A Turin A. Fabretti in the *Atti della Società di archeologia e belle arti per la provincia di Torino* 1880 iii. 99 f. pl. 15. 2 and 1295 B Paris = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 342 nos. 4 and 5. Cp. the terracottas given by Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 46 fig. 3 = Furtwangler *Samml. Sabouroff* Terres cuites pl. 133. 2. 195 fig. 7, 200 fig. 9, 202 fig. 4 or perched precariously on either shoulder e.g. the terracottas in Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 85 fig. 8 Asia Minor = C. Lecuyer *Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie mineure* Paris 1882 pl. H³ (modern?), 101 fig. 1 Rudiae, cp. 82 fig. 7 Greece but not Tanagra = Furtwangler *Samml. Sabouroff* Terres cuites pl. 133. 1. 88 fig. 4 Myrina? , if not duplicated on both e.g. a stone statuette from Beaune, now at Moulins *Catologue du Musée de Moulins* 1885 iii. 125, E. Tudot *Collection de figurines en argile* Paris 1860 pl. 75 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 376 no. 7, and a gold pendant from south Russia, now at Petrograd L. Stepani in the *Compt. rendu St. Pétr* 1867 p. 47 Atlas pl. 1. 6 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 377 no. 6), and even ambitious statuary groups in marble like that from Delos, now in the National Museum at Athens, which represents a naked Aphrodite defending herself with uplifted sandal against the advances of Pan and a helpful Eros hovering over her left shoulder (M. Bulard 'Aphrodite, Pan et Eros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906 xxx. 610—631 pls. 13—16 of which pl. 14 = my fig. 827 fig. 2 is a second Eros belonging to some similar group = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 230 nos. 2 and 3, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 263 fig. 103).

(11 Venus with a tiny Cupid on her shoulder appears on *denarii* struck by M. Cordus Rufus (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 383 no. 1 f. *rev.* fig. c. 49 B.C.), M. Bahrfeldt *Nachtrage und Berichtigungen zur Munzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 88 no. 1 pl. 4, 92, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 523 f. nos. 4037—4039 pl. 51, 11 and 12 *ca.* 46 B.C., *supra* ii. 99 n. 1, and by C. Egnatius Maxumus (Babelon *op. cit.* i. 473 f. nos. 1 *obv.* fig., 2 *rev.* fig. (c. 69 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* i. 399 nos. 3274, 3275 pl. 42, 15, i. 401 nos. 3285—3292 pl. 42, 17 *ca.* 75 B.C.): see further F. Munzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1997 no. 2715 and on others issued by Iulius Caesar (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 11 f. nos. 11 *obv.* fig., 12 *obv.* fig. *ca.* 50 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* ii. 368 f. nos. 86—88 pl. 101, 9, nos. 89—92 pl. 101, 10 *ca.* 45 B.C.).

The same type recurs on a fine fragment of relief in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 762 no. 1923 f., J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 234 ff. pl. 6 ('Venus genetrix...eine Umkleidung der LIVIA', Mrs. A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 96 ('Venus Genetrix' or Livia?'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 128 no. 1. C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 390 'Venus genetrix'), on a relief



Fig. 827.

in the Villa Medici at Rome (E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 338—345. *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 40, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 29 ff. no. 3511. Mrs. A. Strong *op. cit.* p. 143 f. pl. 43, *b*, Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 313 no. 1) which represents the pediment of the temple of Mars Ultor (E. Petersen *Ara Pauc Augustae*, *Sonderschriften des öster reichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* Band ii Wien 1902 p. 58 ff. pl. 3, vii and figs. 26, 27) in the Forum Augustum

(H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 443 ff., O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² Munchen 1901 pp. 110—112, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 pp. 25, 91, on a relief decorating the arm of a marble seat found at Solous in Sicily Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1842 v. 63 f. pl. 39, A. Conze *Die Familie des Augustus* Halis Saxonum 1867 p. 10, F. Hauser 'Marmorhron aus Solunt' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv, 255—260 with figs., on another decorating an altar found at Tarentum (L. Viola in the *Not. Scav.* 1881 p. 388 f., and on yet another decorating an altar formerly at Cività Castellana (A. Reifferscheid in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 367 f.). Cp. a relief found at Carthage (S. Gsell in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 37—43 pl. 2, A. Schulten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. pp. 73—75 fig. 3, E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 184, the 'basis Surrentina' (W. Amelung 'Bemerkungen zur sorrentiner Basis' in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 198—210, especially p. 205 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* pp. 69 ff., 184 f., and a gem at Petrograd (A. Conze *op. cit.* p. 10).

The contention that the type represented by these coins and reliefs was that of the famous Venus *Genetrix* made by Arkesilaos for her temple in the Forum Iulium (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 156: see further H. Jordan *op. cit.* i. 2. 439 f., O. Richter *op. cit.*² p. 110, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *op. cit.* p. 35, though put forward by many scholars e.g. A. Reifferscheid 'De ara Veneris Genetricis' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 361 ff., G. Wissowa *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* Breslau 1882 p. 22 ff. = *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur romischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* Munchen 1904 p. 25 ff.), L. von Ulrichs *Arkesilaos* Wurzburg 1887 p. 10 ff., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 686 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 187 f., C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 308), is beset with uncertainties and far from proven (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1879 iii. 8—24, S. Reinach in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250 ff., *id.* in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1896 ii. 329 ff. = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 i. 256 ff., H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*² Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 pp. 263 ff., 682 f. pl. 124, Sir C. Walston Waldstein, *Alcemenes* Cambridge 1926 p. 202 ff.).

12 Pompeian painters went further afield and exploited to the full the possibilities of the type. We find Eros at the shoulder, not only of Aphrodite (e.g. R. Liberatore in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 6 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 76 no. 276, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 7), but also of a human beauty (R. Liberatore *loc. cit.*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1428, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 8). He occupies the same position in regard to the better-known lovers of mythology (e.g. Paris (W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 31, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 123, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 278 no. 1287, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 165 no. 1), Narkissos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 302 no. 1363, *id. XIII Tafeln zu dem Werke Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschutteten Städte Campanicus* Leipzig 1868 pl. 17, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 4; G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 4 with text pp. 1—5, Helbig *Wandg. Camp.* p. 302 no. 1364, P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 451 fig. 2596, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 8), and even Hippolytos? (A. Sogliano in the *Not. Scavi* 1897 p. 32 with fig. 4, A. Mau in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1898 xiii. 26 f., E. Petersen 'Artemis und Hippolytos' *ib.* 1899 xiv. 96 with fig. on p. 93, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 55 no. 4). See also the medallions grouped together by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 nos. 10 (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 19—22

pl. 4. Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1427^b), 11 and 12 (W. Zahn *op. cit.* ii pl. 43); to which add *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 25 f. pl. 5, 1.

More often, however, Eros is promoted from being a mere prompter to playing some subordinate part in the action represented. If Aphrodite arrives from the sea, a tiny but helpful Eros hands her ashore (Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 33 no. 132. P. Gusman *Pompéi* Paris 1899 p. 72 col. pl. 1, 1, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 60 no. 3). If Ares makes love to her, a hovering Eros spins the magic *ixux* (H. Hinck in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 82, 93 ff. pl. EF, 2. Helbig *op. cit.* p. 84 no. 325, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 2 Text p. 7, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 3) or removes the god's helmet (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 18 with text pp. 1—3, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 81 f. no. 316, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 2). And, briefly, wherever Aphrodite's power is manifested, Eros at-the-shoulder has his work to do. If Zeus woos Danae, Eros pours the golden rain from *amphora* or *cornu copiac*? (*supra* p. 465 f. with figs. 300 and 301. To the references there given add Muller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 27 f. pl. 3, 48 b, Welcker *Ant. Denkm.* v. 281, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 349, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 11 no. 1; H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 47 ('urna'), but cp. Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 21 no. 75 ('corno': the 'urna' of previous publications must be due to the unintelligent repetition of a mere misprint), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 no. 7). If he seeks Ganymedes, Eros leads the divine bird by the neck towards the dreamy youth (C. Bonucci in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 147, G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1831 vii Relazione degli scavi di Pompei p. 5, G. Finati *ib.* 1834 x pl. 56 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 154, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 538 no. 28 Atlas pl. 8, 14, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 8). If he carries off Europe, Eros flits behind them bearing a thunderbolt (P. Gauckler 'Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina' in the *Mon. Piot* 1896 iii. 190 f. fig. 2, *id.*—A. Merlin *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique: Tunisie* Paris 1910—1915 no. 350, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 5) or a *tainia* (J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25=Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. céer.* i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 19 Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 863 fig. 2847, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 no. F 184) or an *atidastron*? (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 no. 124, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 452 no. 34 Atlas pl. 7, 6, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 3), or before them leading the bull by a flowery chain and waving the bridal torch (in a magnificent mosaic from Aquileia *supra* p. 627 n. o (3) with pl. xlvii: cp. the painting, in Astarte's temple at Sidon, described by Ach. Tat. 1. 1 "Ἔρως εἶλκε τὸν βούν· Ἔρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἠπλώκει τὸ πτερόν, ἤρτητο <τὴν (ins. R. Hercher) > φαρέτραν, ἐκράτει τὸ πῆρ), or beside them driving the bull with reins and a whip (C. Lugebil in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861 p. 234, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 f. no. 128, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 32 Atlas pl. 7, 5, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 4: cp. Eros standing as a diminutive figure on the left shoulder of the lovesick Polyphemos and driving him with reins in pursuit of Galateia (G. Perrot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870—1871 N.S. xxii. 47—53 pl. 18 (reduced $\frac{2}{3}$ in my fig. 828; = *id.* *Mémoires d'archéologie d'épigraphie et d'histoire* Paris 1875 pp. 100—111 pl. 6, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 li. 136 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* xi col. pl. 23, P. Weizsacker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588 with fig., Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 172 no. 7, *supra* p. 1020 (9)).

Attendant Erotes multiply apace. We find two (e.g. with Aphrodite and Ares

(*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii. Pitture v) 29—31 pl. 6. G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1834 x pl. 40 with text p. 1 f., Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 328, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 10. Cp. G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1827 iii pl. 36 with text p. 1 f., W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1828



Fig. 828.

i pl. 44. F. G. Welcker in W. Ternite *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* Berlin (1844) 3. Abth. iv. 13 f. pl. 29 (Helene and Achilles), Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 334—337 Atlas pl. 15, 8 (Helene and Achilles), Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 327 (Aphrodite and Ares), J. Six in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 190 f. fig. 5 (Briseis and Achilles), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 4), with Europe and the bull (R. Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 130—132

pl. 6, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 2 mosaic from Sparta; *supra* i. 506 with fig. 369 vase at Petrograd) or three (e.g. with Herakles, Omphale, and Priapos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 231 f. no. 1140, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 889 with fig. 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 3, pls. 59, 60 Text pp. 75—77. Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 5, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 826 f. iii. 284 col. fig. 664) or four (e.g. with Aphrodite and Adonis (Sir W. Gell *Pompeiana* London 1832 ii. 66 pl. 12, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iii. 89 f. pl. 139, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 no. 339, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 3), with Aphrodite and Ares (A. Sogliano *Monumenta Pompeiana* Naples 1905 ii pl. 85, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 7)) or six (e.g. with Aphrodite J. P. Bellorius et M. A. Causseus *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum* Romae 1750 p. 89 f. Appendix pl. 7, O. Benndorf in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 63 ff. pl. 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 59 no. 6), with Aphrodite and Adonis (E. G[erhard] in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 88 f. pl. 5, 2, W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1844 ii pl. 30, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 f. no. 340, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 52 Text pp. 65—67, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 64 no. 2)) or eight (with Omphale and Herakles (R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 239 ff. pl. 19, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 230 f. no. 1138, A. Ruesch in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 322 no. 1354, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 6)) or even nine (in Action's picture of Roxane and Alexander the Great as described by Loukian. *Herod. s. Act.* 4—6=Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 363 no. 1938, A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 376 ff. no. 507, cp. W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die kampanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 242, B. Nogara *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* Milano 1907 p. 23, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 771 f., 806). The way is thus prepared for the numerous Erotes of early Christian art, the *putti* of the Renaissance, and the Cupids of modern sentimentalism O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 515 f., *supra* ii. 1050.

APPENDIX R.

THE *HIERÒS GÁMOS*.

Greek literature from Homeric poetry to Byzantine prose links the name of Zeus with that of Hera. But this tradition, though practically universal, involves certain peculiar and even abnormal features, which, if carefully considered, make it difficult to believe that Hera was from the outset the wife of Zeus. The relations subsisting between them are deserving of detailed study¹.

Zeus, according to Kallimachos² and Nonnos³, was courting Hera for a period of three hundred years. Homer⁴ states that they met 'without the

¹ Years ago I dealt with the topic, somewhat light-heartedly, in two papers contributed to the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 (*supra* p. 744 n. 1).

² Kallim. *aita* 2 frag. 20 Schneider *ap. schol. A.D. II.* i. 609 and Tzetz. *in eumf. lo.* (P. Matranga *anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 ii. 450, 11 ff.) *ὡς τε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τρηκοσίους ἐνιαυτούς.*

³ Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 322 ff. *ὅτι πολυχρονίῳ πόθῳ δεδονημένον οἴστρω* (cp. *supra* p. 941 n. 1) | *Ἥρης κέντρον ἔχοντα κασιγνήτων ἡμεαίων | εἰς χρόνον ἰμείροντα τρηκοσίων ἐνιαυτῶν | Ζῆνα γάμοις ἔξευξα.*

⁴ *Il.* 14. 295 f. *οἶον ὅτε πρῶτον περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότῃτι, | εἰς εὐνήν φοιτῶντε, φίλους ἤθοντε τοκῆας.*

knowledge of their dear parents': and later authors¹ lay stress on their secrecy, which indeed passed into a proverb. But it must be remembered that such clandestine intercourse was in Samos² and at Sparta³, if not elsewhere in the Greek world⁴, the recognised beginning of married life. Zeus and Hera were conforming to a custom, which savours of extreme antiquity⁵, though it is not extinct even in modern Europe⁶.

The union of Zeus with Hera, commonly known as the *hierôs gamos* or 'sacred marriage,' involved at once a myth and a ritual, though evidence of the one or the other is often lacking⁷.

¹ Theokr. 15. 64 πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἠγάγεθ' Ἥρην with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Plaut. *trm.* 208 sciunt quod Iuno fabulatast cum Iove.

² In Samos the practice was referred to the example of Zeus (schol. B.L.T.V. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 987, 9 ff.).

³ Plout. *v. Lycurg.* 15, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 1. 5, Hermippos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 37 Muller) *ap. Athen.* 555 c.

⁴ The Lydian practice of prenuptial free love (Ail. *car. hist.* 4. 1 Λυδοῖς ἦν ἔθος πρὸ τοῦ στροικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἑταιρεῖν, ἀπαξ δὲ κατασκευθεῖσας σωφρονεῖν· τὴν δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσαν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ἦν) is hardly analogous. And the Naxian custom of placing a baby boy in the bride's bed on the eve of her wedding (Kallim. *aitia* 3. 1. 1 ff. Mair = B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 15 ff. no. 1011 ἤδη καὶ κούρῳ παρθένος εὐνάσαστο τέθμον ὡς ἐκέλετο προνούμφιον ἔπνον ἰαῦσαι | ἀρσενὶ τὴν τάλιν παιδί σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ. | Ἥρην γὰρ κοτέ φασι—), though adduced as a parallel by Kallim. *loc. cit.* and schol. B.L.T.V. *Il.* 14. 296, is better explained as a piece of mimetic magic by A. E. Housman in the *Class. Quart.* 1910 iv. 114 f., D. R. Stuart in *Class. Philol.* 1911 vi. 302 ff., E. Samter 'Ein naxischer Hochzeitsbrauch' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1915 xxxv. 90—98. Cp. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage* London 1921 ii. 468 'in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son'.

⁵ P. Wilutzky *Vorgeschichte des Rechts* Breslau 1903 i. 201 argues that monogamy, since it involved the infringement of earlier communal rights, was at first viewed as an offence to society and its practice carefully concealed.

⁶ F. G. Welcker in K. Schwenck *Etymologisch-mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 271 cp. 'die Sitte des Kiltgangs, die auch bey den Slawen häufig gefunden werde.' On the *Kiltgang* of the Bernese Oberland see J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsche Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 704 s.v. KILT (3) 'schweiz. der nachtlche besuch des burschen bei seinem mädchen, das kilten' and in much greater detail F. Staub—L. Tobler—K. Schoch—A. Bachmann—H. Bruppacher in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* Frauenfeld 1895 iii. 242 ff. s.v. **Chilt**.

⁷ For the subject in general see P. H. Larcher 'Mémoire sur la noce sacrée' (read in 1790) in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1808 xlviii. 323 ff., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 pp. 1—38, W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 pp. 69—85, *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2098—2103, H. Graillot in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 177—181 ('Hiéros Gamos').

The valuable monograph of A. Klinz *ἹΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ* Halis Saxonum 1933 pp. 1—134 is of wider scope (p. 118 'Gravissimas res breviter complectens affirmaverim me demonstravisse notionem sacrarum nuptiarum in religione Minorum vi et notione iuris materni originem atque principium habere, inde in sacra Graecorum sollemnia translata esse, antiquissimis quidem religionis Graecae temporibus numina cthonia fertilitatis et inferorum coniugis inter se coniungi, sed postea pro iure paterno Indogermanorum tempore religionis Olympiae Iovem ut caeli lucidi deum, qui sacris matrimonii cum veteribus terrae deabus conecitur, auctoritate plurimum posse'), but in pp. 89—111 deals systematically with 'Διὸς γάμοι.'

(1) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Samos.

In the case of Samos both are to hand. Parthenia, an old name of the island¹, was connected with the maidenhood of Hera, who here grew up and was married to Zeus². This myth corresponded with a definite ritual. A statue of Hera in the Samian Heraion—presumably the wooden image made by Smilis of Aigina³—was dressed as a bride⁴; and at an annual festival the goddess was married to Zeus⁵. Terra-cotta groups found in Samos show Zeus and Hera

¹ The island was formerly (Strab. 637 πρότερον οἰκούντων Καρῶν) named Παρθενία (Aristot. *frag.* 570 Rose² *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135, Herakleid. *resp. Sam. frag.* 10. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 215 Muller), Kallim. *h. Del.* 48 f., Ap. Rhod. 1. 187 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Strab. 457, 637, Steph. Byz. s.v. Σαμος. Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 533) after Parthenia the wife of Samos (Loukillos of Tarrha *frag.* 10 Linnenkugel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187), or after the river Parthenios (Strab. 457, Eustath. *loc. cit.*), which was so called because Hera had been brought up there as a virgin (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187). Probably it was believed that Hera renewed her virginity by bathing in the river, just as the Argives declared that she annually became a virgin by washing in the spring Kanathos at Nauplia (*supra* p. 224 n. 3). W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 360 detected a trace of this notion in the saying still current at Nauplia, that the women of the place are handsome, while those of Argos are ugly, thanks to the different water of the two towns. Similarly, after her marriage with Zeus Hera was said to have bathed in the spring of the Mesopotamian river Aborras: hence the surrounding air was filled with fragrance, and shoals of tame fish disported themselves in the water (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30). Alleged names of Samos include Παρθένιον (Eutekn. *metaphr. in Nik. alex.* 148 f.) and even †*Parth. novrrhusa*† (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135—a bungled blend of Παρθενία and Δροῦσα, as J. Haidouin saw, cp. Herakleid. *loc. cit.* ἡ δὲ νῆσος Παρθενία, ἕσπερον δὲ Δροῦσα). A certain soil found in Samos was known as παρθενία (Nik. *alex.* 149 with schol. *ad loc.*). Hera herself was entitled Παρθενία both in Samos (Kallim. *ap.* schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187, cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 149) and elsewhere (see O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1649).

² Varr. *frag.* 399 Funaioli *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nonnataam, quod ibi Iuno adoleverit ibique etiam Iovi nupselit.

³ *Supra* i. 444 f. figs. 313, 314, iii. 645 n. o fig. 446. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 12—16 Munztaf. 1, 1—12.

⁴ Perhaps in the robe called πάρος (Kallim. *frag.* 495 Schneider *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 93, 19 ff., Hesych. s.v. πάρος).

⁵ Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 itaque nobilissimum et antiquissimum templum eius est Sami et simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum et sacra eius anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 6. 7 sacra sunt Iunonis, et haec in eius dilecta insula Samo celebrantur, ubi nuptum data est Iovi.

On the cult of Hera in Samos see now the results of the important excavations (1910—1914 and 1925—1929) described by E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 1—99 and summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 175 f.

Chrysippos *frag.* 1074 von Arnim *ap.* Orig. *c. Cels.* 4. 48 (xi. 1105 c—1108 A Migne) commented at length on a Samian picture ἐν ἡ ἀρρητοποιούσα ἡ Ἥρα τὸν Δία ἐγγέγραπτο (cp. *frag.* 1071 von Arnim *ap.* Diog. Laert. 7. 187 f.), and *frag.* 1072 von Arnim *ap.* Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 18 (ii. 188 B Migne) on another of the same sort at Argos πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Διὸς αἰδοίῳ φέρων (Wilamowitz *ej. φέρων*) τῆς Ἥρας τὸ πρόσωπον. Such works aroused the indignation of Christian (Theophil. *ad Autol.* 3. 3 and 8) and pagan (Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5. 7. 187 f.) alike. But, when it is recollected that Orpheus, possibly in his lines περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας (*frag.* 220 Abel=*frag.* 115 Kern), ascribed such conduct to the gods (Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5), it becomes probable that these pictures were not mere *libidines* but had some religious significance. Cp. *e.g.* the figure of Geb the

seated side by side (figs. 829 and 830)¹. Both deities wear the bridal veil² and thereby justify R. Foerster's³ identification of the subject as the *hieròs gámos*.

It is highly probable that a Samian festival called the Tonia stood in some relation to this *hieròs gámos*. The facts regarding it are as follows. A certain willow, which grew in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, was said to be the oldest



Fig. 829.



Fig. 830.

Egyptian earth-god on a papyrus in the British Museum (Lanzoni *Dict. de Mitol. Egyp.* p. 409 f. pl. 159, 6).

¹ (1) From a child's grave in the Samian necropolis, now at Vienna (J. Bohlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* Leipzig 1898 p. 45, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. east. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii. 210 with fig. 84 (= my fig. 829; scale $\frac{2}{3}$).

(2) and (3) Two similar groups, now at Cassel, said to have come from a single Samian grave. One gives the head of Zeus an opening like a vase-mouth on the top. But both are holed at the bottom (J. Bohlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* pp. 48, 159 pl. 14, 6 and 8).

(4) A similar group, found at Kameiros, now in the Cabinet des Medailles, Paris (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii, 1. 43 fig. 3=1. 190 fig. 1).

(5) A similar but somewhat more advanced group, formerly in the possession of Sir William Gell (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 1 (= my fig. 830; scale $\frac{2}{3}$), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 20, 251, 258, *ib.* Hera p. 24 f. fig. 4 a. Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* i. 115 pl. 5, 6).

(6) and (7) Winter *loc. cit.* notes two similar but smaller groups, the one from Tanagra (?) in the Louvre (L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 9 pl. 11, 6), the other from Kameiros in the British Museum (uncatalogued?).

² *Infra* p. 1033.

³ R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 24 f., followed e.g. by J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 674 fig. 4167.

of all existing trees: it belonged to the species known as *lygos* or *agnos* by the Greeks (the *vitex agnus castus* of Linné), and was still thriving in the time of Pausanias¹. It is shown or at least symbolized on coins struck by Gordianus Pius². Some maintained that the Heraion, where the tree stood, had been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of Hera with them from Argos; but the Samians themselves supposed that the goddess had been born in their island beside the river Imbrasos and beneath this very willow³. According to Menodotos⁴, a Samian historian, Admete the daughter of Eurystheus⁵ once fled from Argos to Samos, where she had a vision of Hera and, wishing to give the goddess a thankoffering for her safe journey, undertook the care of the temple built by the Leleges and the Nymphs. The Argives, indignant at this, bribed Tyrrhenian pirates to carry off the image, in order that the Samians might punish Admete. The Tyrrhenians came to the port of Hera, found the temple without a door to it, carried off the image, and put it on board their ship. But, though they loosed their cables, weighed anchor, and rowed their hardest, they could not get away from the land. So they set the image ashore and, after offering it sundry cakes, took their departure in fear and trembling. Next morning Admete raised the alarm, and the searchers discovered the image on the shore. Being but barbarous Carians⁶, they believed that it had run away of its own accord, placed it against a willow fence⁷, drew towards it the longest branches on either side of it and wrapped it round about with them. Admete released the image from these bonds, purified it, and erected it on the pedestal which it had occupied before. Hence every year the image is carried off to the shore, disappears from view, and has cakes set beside it⁸. The festival in question is named *Tóneua*⁹ because the image was so tightly (*syntónōds*) bound by those that first sought it. Further it is said that, when the Carians consulted Apollo of Hybla about these occurrences, the god bade them escape serious disaster by paying the goddess a voluntary penalty. Prometheus after his release from bonds had been willing to pay a light penalty, and Zeus had bidden him wear a willow wreath¹⁰. The Carians must do the same and, when feasting, bind their heads with willow branches just as they had bound the goddess. They were to abandon the use of every other kind of wreath, with the exception of

¹ Paus. 8. 23. 5.

² *Supra* p. 645 n. o fig. 446.

³ Paus. 7. 4. 4. Cp. *supra* p. 1027 n. 1 f. On the probable site of the *lygos* towards the south-east corner of the precinct see E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1930 lv. 51 with fig. 7 and pl. 13.

⁴ Menodotos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 103 ff. Muller) *ap.* Athen. 671 E ff.

⁵ So Syncell. *chron.* 172 A (i. 324 Dindorf) Ἀδμήτα θυγάτηρ Εὐρύσθεως ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἱεράτευσεν ἔτη λη'. αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν ἱεροσύνην διαδεξάμεναι Φαλίδες ἐκαλοῦντο.

⁶ Strab. 637 cited *supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

⁷ πρὸς τι λύγου θωράκιον.

⁸ E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1930 lv. 33 would associate these rites with a large quadrangular flooring in the south-east corner.

⁹ The form *Tóneua* is supported by all the MSS. of Athen. 672 D—E and was accepted by Dindorf. For the termination cp. the *Ποσειδεα* of Mytilene and the *Ποσειδεα* of Megara (Nilsson *Gr. Fests.* p. 83 f.). A. Meineke, however, cj. *Tóneua*, and G. Kaibel cj. *Tovaua*. The name is connectible with *τείνω* 'stretch,' *τόνος* 'tension, force, vigour,' cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel *λύγος δὲ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῆς εὐτονον*.

¹⁰ It is not definitely stated, but it is probably implied that Prometheus' wreath was of *λύγος*: cp. Aisch. *Προμηθεὺς Ἀλώμενος ἴναξ.* 202 Nauck² and *Σφίγγ ἴναξ.* 235 Nauck², Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15. Apollod. 2. 5. 11 has *δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας*. Prometheus' ring (*supra* i. 329 n. o) may be a later variant of his wreath.

bay-leaves which might be worn by those that actually served the goddess. This Samian custom of wearing willow is mentioned elsewhere¹. Anakreon² says of a young friend from Samos:

Megistes whose heart answers mine
 Ten months ago
 Would wreath him so
 With willow and drink deep the honeyed wine.

More important is an epigram by Nikainetos³ of Samos, which throws some further light upon the usage:

Ah, Philotheros, fain would I
 Fanned by the western breezes lie
 Feasting with Hera—not in town.
 Enough for me a mere shake-down.
 See, nigh at hand there is a spread
 Of native willow for my bed
 And osiers, the old Carian wear.
 Bring wine, and list the lyre's sweet air.
 That we may drink and praise beside
 Our island-queen, Zeus' glorious bride.

From this it appears that at the feast of Hera the guests not only wreathed their heads with willow, but also reclined upon willow boughs and sang of Hera as the bride of Zeus.

Such rites can be paralleled, at least in part, from other cult-centres. Thus at Sparta the image of Artemis was called *Lygodésma* the 'Willow-bound' as well as *Orthia* the 'Upright' ostensibly because it had been found in a thicket of willows, which twining round it kept it upright⁴. And at Athens it was customary for women celebrating the Thesmophoria to lie on a bed of willows⁵. Indeed, priests in general used to strew willow leaves under their couches⁶, and as late as the eighteenth century Christian monks wore girdles made of willow osiers⁷.

¹ Tenaros *ap. Athen.* 672 A states that willow was ἀγροίκων στεφάνωμα. But we do not know who Tenaros was, nor whether his ἀγροίκοι were Samians. Still less information is given by the jejune note of Aristarchos *ap. Athen.* 671 F f. οἱ καὶ Λέγους ἐστεφανοῦντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

² Anakreon *frag.* 41 Bergk⁴, 21 Diehl *ap. Athen.* 671 E f., 673 D, *ep. Poll.* 6, 107. Hephaiston (the metrician?) published a pamphlet *περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἀνακρεῶντι Λιγίνου στεφάνου* (Athen. 673 E).

³ Nikainetos *ap. Athen.* 673 B ff.

Both Anakreon and Nikainetos speak of the feasters as drinking wine. E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 187 n. 3 holds that Hesych. Ἐλυγείης Διόνυσος ἐν Σάμῳ implies the existence of a Dionysos 'in the Willow' (ἐν Λέγῳ) at Samos. But the order of the words in Hesychios demands the reading Ἐλυγείης: see M. Schmidt *ad loc.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2367.

⁴ Paus. 3, 16, 11 (quoted *supra* ii. 421 n. 5). Asklepios at Sparta was called Ἀγνίρας because his wooden image was made of ἄγνος (Paus. 3, 14, 7).

⁵ Ail. *de nat. an.* 9, 26, Dioskor. 1, 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel, Galen. *de simpl. medicament. temp. ac fac.* 6, 2 (xi. 808 Kuhn), schol. Nik. *ther.* 71, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1639, 2 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 24, 59.

⁶ Schol. A *Il.* 11, 105, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 834, 37 ff.

⁷ N. Venette *La Génération de l'homme* Londres 1779 i. 231 f. 'quelques moines chrétiens se font aujourd'hui des ceintures avec des branches de cet arbre (*sc. agnus*

The reason commonly given for these practices is that the willow possesses antiaphrodisiac qualities¹. If so, the binding of the Samian Hera and her votaries with willow may have been part of a purificatory ceremony, whereby the goddess after her annual marriage with Zeus was believed to recover her virginity². Artemis *Lygodésma* too was presumably a virgin³. And ceremonial purity was incumbent upon women at the Thesmophoria and priests at all times. This explanation might be supported by the fact that the Tonia included a visit of Hera to the sea-shore: salt-water cleansed all⁴.

Nevertheless there are not wanting some indications that the willow was credited with powers of a precisely opposite character and regarded as a strong aphrodisiac⁵. Confusion may have arisen owing to the popular but erroneous assumption that the name *áγνος* was derived from *hagnós*, 'pure,' or from *áγνομος*, 'unfruitful⁶.' On this showing the ritual above described must have aimed at increasing the fertility of the goddess⁷. But in either case it was

utis), qui se plie comme de l'osier, et ils prétendent par là s'arracher du cœur tous les desirs que l'amour y pourroit faire naître.' Etc.—cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii 5. See also P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 388.

¹ In addition to the authorities given in p. 1030 n. 5 f. see Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 *άγνος ή λήγος και προς άγνείαν περιστευται δραν. ου μόνον εσθιομενος και πινόμενος αλλά και υποστρωνόμενος* with the note *ad loc.* of F. Adams *Paulus Aegineta* London 1847 iii. 20. Cp. also what is said of the *τέρα* or *salix* by Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 23, schol. *Od.* 10. 510, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1667, 20 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110. Serv. *in Verg. Georg.* 2. 48.

² *Supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

³ Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 130 n. 2, cp. O. Hofer in Roscher *ica. Myth.* iii. 1662.

⁴ On the purificatory virtue of salt-water see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 889 n. 1.

Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 858 n. 3 finds traces of a similar ritual in the Homeric hymn to Dionysos, who appeared by the sea-shore, was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates and bound with withes of willow, but burst his bonds and took vengeance on his captors (*cf. Dion.* 1 ff.).

⁵ J. Jonston *Thaumatographia naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 191 cites from Scalig. *Exerc.* 175 *act.* 1 [J. C. Scaliger *Exot. exerc.* Lutetiae 1557 p. 226] the following account: '*Άγνια* ath est arbor pyri facie & magnitudine perpetuo folio viridissima, nitidissimaque superficie. Adeo validus ad contum efficit, ut miraculo sit omnibus ejus efficacia.' See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* p. 6 f.

Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 60 *urinam cient et menses lactis ubertatem faciunt, 62 volvam etiam suffitu vel adposito purgat.* Cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 129 f. Sprengel.

A. Thomsen 'Orthia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 407 ff. showed that Artemis *Αιγυοδέσμα* or Orthia was a tree-goddess (*supra* ii. 421 n. 8) and that the flogging of Spartan youths, presumably with rods of *Άγνος* (cp. Plout. *symf.* 6. 8. 1 *τύπτοντες άγνίαις παβδοίς* at the *Βουλίμου έξέλασις*), transferred her virtue to the sufferers. *Supra* ii. 635 n. 9.

⁶ Most of the writers referred to *supra* p. 1030 n. 5 f. and p. 1031 n. 1 connect *άγνος* with *άγνός* or *άγνομος*—both very dubious etymologies (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 121, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 8).

⁷ R. Wunsch *Das Frühlingfest der Insel Malta* Leipzig 1902 drew attention to a Maltese custom recorded by an Arab writer of the sixteenth century. Every year a large golden idol set with precious stones was thrown into a field of bean-flowers by a monk, who told the people that their lord had departed. Hereupon there was mourning and fasting for some three days, till the monk announced that the lord's anger was appeased. The idol was then brought back to the town in procession with great rejoicings. Wunsch holds that the idol represented John the Baptist, who here as elsewhere succeeded to the position of Adonis. His hypothesis has been called in question or controverted by

appropriate to a divine marriage, and we must bear in mind the fact that those who took part in the Tonia sang of Hera as 'Zeus' glorious bride'.¹

(2) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Knossos.

Another locality in which the *hieròs gámos* was represented by both myth and ritual is Knossos at the base of Mount Ide in Crete. The wedding of Zeus and Hera was said to have taken place near the river Theren (the modern *Platyperama*²). Here in later times a sanctuary was built and yearly sacrifices offered with traditional wedding-rites³. I have suggested that the earlier ceremony involved the ritual pairing of solar bull with lunar cow⁴.

(3) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Ide.

More frequently the *hieròs gámos* is attested by a localised myth without direct evidence of a ritual performance.

Thus the famous passage of the *Iliad* that describes how Zeus consorted with Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad⁵ expressly alludes to the tale of their early amours⁶; and we are probably justified in inferring that the tale was told of the mountain in question.

However that may be, it is the myth itself, not the Homeric adaptation of it⁷—and the myth as localised on the Trojan rather than the Cretan

W. H. D. Rouse in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 232 f., K. Lubbeck *Adoniskult und Christentum auf Malta* Fulda 1904 p. 7 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 317 f., A. Mayr *Die Insel Malta im Altertum* München 1909 p. 129. In any case it seems probable that contact with the beans was believed to supply the idol with a fresh stock of virility or power to bless: beans = *astis*.

¹ A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 4 'Dans les noces helléniques, les jeunes mariés portaient des couronnes d'*aznus-castu*, employées aussi comme un moyen d'éloigner tout empoisonnement.' I do not know the source of this statement about young married couples, which is copied by R. Folkard *Poet. Lore, Legend, and Lyric* London 1884 p. 208 and reappears in J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 103 f. On the plant and its uses see further P. Wagler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 832—834.

² R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. A. 2367.

³ Dioid. 5. 72 λέγονται δε και τοις γάμοις τοις τε Διου και της Ηρας εν τη Κνωσίων χώρα γενέσθαι κατα τινα τόπον πλησίον του Θήρημος ποταμού. καθ' ου νυν ιερόν εστιν, εν φ θυσίας κατ' ενιαίτων άγίοις υπό των έγχωρίων συντελείσθαι, και τοις γάμοις άπομιμείσθαι, καθάπερ έξ άρχής γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν. *Id.* 5. 80 mentions as his authorities for things Cretan Epimenides, Dosiades, Sokrates, and Laosthenidas. The river Theren in Crete may have had the same peculiar properties as the spring Kanathos at Nauplia and perhaps the river Parthenios in Samos (*supra* p. 1027 n. 1). It was apparently an arm of the Amnisos (K. Hoeck *Archa* Göttingen 1829 iii. 315), at the mouth of which was the cave of Eileithyia (*Od.* 19. 188, cp. Strab. 476), a daughter of Hera born here (Paus. i. 18. 5); hence Nonn. *Ion.* 8. 115 Άμισοίο λεχώων . . . ύδωρ. It is noteworthy that Artemis the virgin bathes in the Parthenios (a river of Paphlagonia, according to the schol. *ad loc.*) or in the Amnisos, and is escorted by the nymphs of the latter stream (Ap. Rhod. 3. 875 ff., Kallim. *h. Artem.* 15).

⁴ *Supra* i. 523. The myth of the Cretan bull was attached to the same locality (Paus. i. 27. 9 *επί ποταμῷ Τεθρηνί*).

⁵ *Supra* i. 154, iii. 35, 180.

⁶ *Il.* 14. 295. Cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 164.

⁷ Muller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 38 f.





Fresco from Pompeii, now at Naples:
the *Hieròs Gámos* of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida in the Troad.

See page 1032 ff.

Idel¹—that is represented by the wall-painting found at Pompeii in the 'House of the Tragic Poet' (pl. lxxii)². Here we see Zeus, a kingly figure seated on a rocky throne³. A *himation* wrapped about his legs is drawn up so as to cover his hair like a veil⁴, and falls again over his shoulder and left arm. The wreath on his head is possibly, but not certainly⁵, composed of oak leaves. He rests his left hand, the fourth finger of which wears a wedding-ring, on a long sceptre. With an affectionate⁶ and at the same time symbolic⁷ gesture of his right hand he draws towards him his bride. She is robed in a white *péplos* and an ample veil. Her hair is confined by a richly decorated *stéphane*; and her jewels include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and a wedding-ring worn like that of Zeus. Her large and brilliant eyes, which recall the epithet *boôpis*⁸, are averted from the face of her bridegroom and with a subtle blend of outward dignity and inward alarm look straight into the distance. The same mixture of feelings is betrayed by her stately yet hesitating advance, and again by the studied nervous way in which she is holding the end of her veil between herself and Zeus. Hera is followed and supported by Iris, a youthful winged figure whose anxious questioning expression is the natural accompaniment of her mistress' mood. But the difference between bride and bridesmaid is finely brought out by the artist. Hera with head erect and full of virginal pride emerges into the light—a queen indeed. Iris watching her with upturned face obscured by a semi-darkness is plainly subordinate and serves as her foil. On the rocks beside Zeus sit three male figures of diminutive size, scantily clad and wreathed with flowers⁹: they have been interpreted with much probability as the Idaean

¹ In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 f. I accepted the conclusions of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 230—243 and maintained that the scenery of the fresco is that of the Cretan mountain. Certainly the woods (*supra* ii. 932 n. 1), the cult of Rhea (*Diol.* 5. 65 f.), and the Idaean Daktyloi ([Hes.] *frag.* 14 Flach *op. Plin. nat. hist.* 7. 197. *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 1129 with schol. *ad loc.*, *Diol.* 5. 64, *Paus.* 5. 7. 6 with schol. *ad loc.*, *Porph.* 7. *Pyth.* 17, *Hesych. s.v. Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι, et. mag.* p. 465, 25 ff., *cp. Plin. nat. hist.* 37. 170) all suit the neighbourhood of Knossos. But they suit the Trojan Idel equally well: here too were woods (*supra* ii. 949 n. 5), a cult of Rhea (*Strab.* 469; see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 1), and the Idaean Daktyloi (schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 1126 and 1131, *Strab.* 473, *Diol.* 5. 64, 17-7, *Plout. de music.* 5, *Clem. Al. Strom.* 1. 15 p. 46, 24 ff. *Stahlin, Hesych. s.v. Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι*). Moreover, the other frescoes found in the same atrium depict scenes from Homeric *epos* (*Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei* i. 16), and the flowers worn by the Daktyloi may be due to a reminiscence of *Il.* 14. 347 ff.

² Pl. lxxii is from Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 11, a photographic reproduction which supercedes all previous publications.

³ *Supra* i. 124 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1028.

⁵ Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 1.

⁶ *Cp.* the Homeric *ἐπι καρπῷ χεῖρα κ.τ.λ.* (*Il.* 24. 671, *Od.* 18. 258, 24. 398).

⁷ C. Sittl *Die Götterden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 131 f. R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 15 (who cites *inter alia Eur. Ion* 891 ff. *λευκοῖς δ' ἐμφύς καρποῖς χερῶν | εἰς ἀντρον κοίτας | κραναῖαν, ᾧ μάτερ, μ' αὐδῶσαν | θεὸς ὀμνεύετας ἄγες κ.τ.λ.*).

⁸ *Supra* i. 444. A drawing of Hera's head, almost full-size, is given by A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 649 fig. 719.

⁹ Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 3 (*cp. ib.* 1. 15 fig. 3) states that their wreaths consist of sprays entwined with flowers, but thinks it impossible to decide whether these flowers are, as Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 33 f. no. 114 supposed, primroses.

Daktyloi¹, who haunted the woods of Mount Ide and were associated with Rhea, the Idaean Mother². The locality is further indicated by wooded hills in the background and a pillar adorned with Rhea's attributes—three bronze lions standing on its capital, a timbrel lying against its base, flutes and cymbals bound by a fillet to its shaft. The whole fresco must be regarded as a good Pompeian copy of a splendid Hellenistic original³.

The presence of Iris as bridesmaid recalls the similar, though not identical, scenes portrayed by a couple of the later Greek poets. Theokritos in the Hellenistic age writes:

So came about the wedlock of the gods,
Whom puissant Rhea bore to rule Olympos.
One couch she strewed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera—
Iris, a maid with hands all perfume-pure⁴.

Nonnos in the age of decadence spoils the picture by far-fetched bombast:

He spake, and rolling cloud on golden cloud
Tower-wise inglobed a circumambient veil,
So shaped and fashioned forth a bridal-bower,
Which then the dazzling diverse-tinted form
Of Iris the ethereal crowned—a covert
Of Nature's make for Zeus and his bright-armed bride,
What time they lay on the mountain, and withal
A perfect copy of their destined union⁵.

Iris and the Daktyloi, like the landscape-background, were additions to the accepted type. A Hellenistic relief in island marble, unfortunately much corroded, was found in Rhodes and is now in the Rhodian Museum (fig. 831⁶). It shows Zeus seated on a throne, the side of which is decorated with a large Sphinx. He raises his right hand in admiration of Hera, who stands before him, one hand resting on the god's knee, the other on her own hip. Between them is seen a pillar, on which is perched an eagle with spread wings. A. Maunz well compares another Hellenistic relief, in Parian marble, likewise found in

¹ Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iv. 96 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xliii. 78 was the first to propound this view. R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 36 n. 6 suggested that they might be the Σελλοὶ χαμαιῆνες of Dodona—a suggestion refuted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 241 f. L. Stephani in the *Bulletin histor.-phil. de l'Académie de St. Petersbourg* 1855 xii. 301 n. 80 and Helbig *loc. cit.*, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 277 ff., *Rhein. Mus.* 1869 xxiv. 508 ff., *Untersuchungen über die ionianische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 117 argued that they are Λειμώνες, personified 'Meadows': cp. Philostr. *mai. imag.* 2. 4. 3 Λειμώνες δ' ἐν ὄρα μειρακίων, οἷς ἀκρατοῦς ὠνομαζες, μαραινουσῶ ἐπι σοὶ (sc. Hippolytos) τὰ ἄνθη and *supra* n. 164 n. 6 (Leimon). N. Terzaghi in *Atene e Roma* 1902 v. 434 ff. regards them as Κούρητες.

² L. v. Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 940 f., O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2018 ff. *Supra* p. 922.

³ Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 15—17, G. Kollenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 pp. 203—206.

⁴ Theokr. 17. 131 ff.

⁵ Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 76 ff. The text of line 78 f. is disputed. I have translated the passage as it stands in the editions of D. F. Graefe (1826) and A. Ludwig (1911), 722: καὶ θαλαμον ποιητὸς ἔην τυπος, ὃν τότε κύκλω | Ἴριδος αἰθερῆς ἐτερόχροος ἔστεφε μορφῇ κ.τ.λ. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1826) prints the conjectural readings ὃν ποτε for ὃν τυπε and ἔτρεφε for ἔστεφε.

⁶ A. Maunz in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 n. 44—46 fig. 22 (= my fig. 831).

Rhodes and now in London (fig. 832)¹. Zeus sitting on a very similar throne, with a winged and lion-headed Sphinx, leans his right hand on a long sceptre. Before him stands Hera, also holding a long sceptre—for she plays queen to



Fig. 831.

his king. Between them appears a pillar, on which are the feet of a small statue. In front of it is an ox (for sacrifice?). Behind Zeus was a standing figure, on a

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 223 f. no. 2150. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 2. My fig. 832 is from the official photograph.

smaller scale, with a palm-branch in its right hand—possibly Nike, but possibly a victor in some local contest who had dedicated a statue to Zeus and Hera¹.

The pillar present in these Graeco-Roman compositions was itself no part of the older Hellenic type—witness a metope from Selinous now at Palermo

¹ This relief has been variously interpreted. P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxi. 559 f. pl. 3, 1 thinks that it represents Zeus and Hera, or else Asklepios and Hygieia. W. Amelung in the *Rom. Myth.* 1901 xvi. 258—263 fig. 1 reverts to an older view that the deities are Sarapis and Isis. Reinach *loc. cit.* is non-committal.



Fig. 832.

A. Maueri, moved by the new Rhodian discovery, inclines to Zeus and Hera. I agree with him: Sarapis, as Amelung admits, ought to have had a *chiton* and a much more prominent *kilathos*.

For similar thrones see e.g. that of Epiktetes (*supra* i. 536 fig. 407) and that of Dionysos (*supra* i. 710 with pl. xl, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwangler *Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 28, *id. Glyptothek zu München*² p. 183 ff. no. 206, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera (?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwangler comments (p. 185): 'Leider fehlt eine Dedikations-Inschrift, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebenogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philos mit Agathe Tyche sein.'

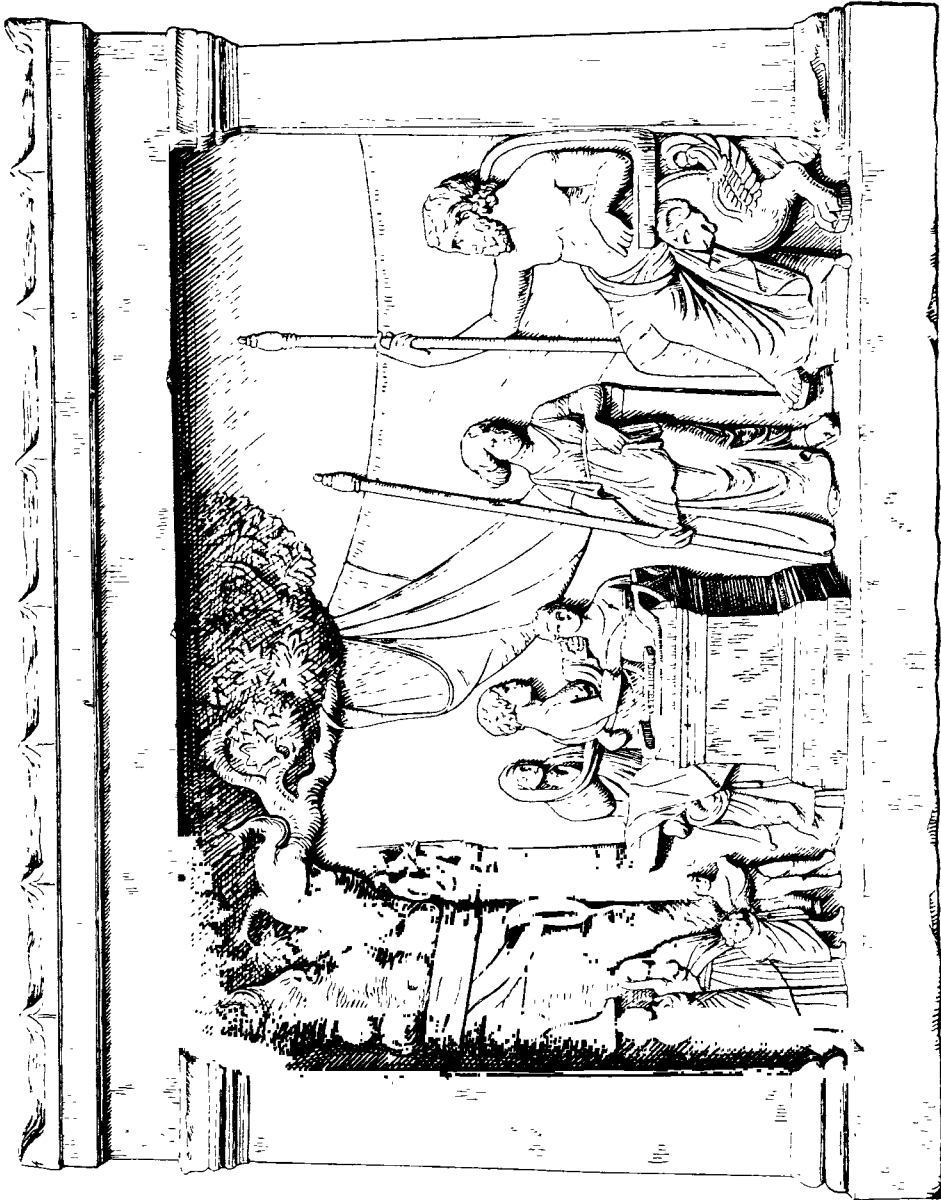


Fig. 833.

fig 834¹. This metope, which may be referred to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents Zeus seated on a rock². He has a diadem in his hair and sandals on his feet. A *himation*, which has slipped from his left shoulder,

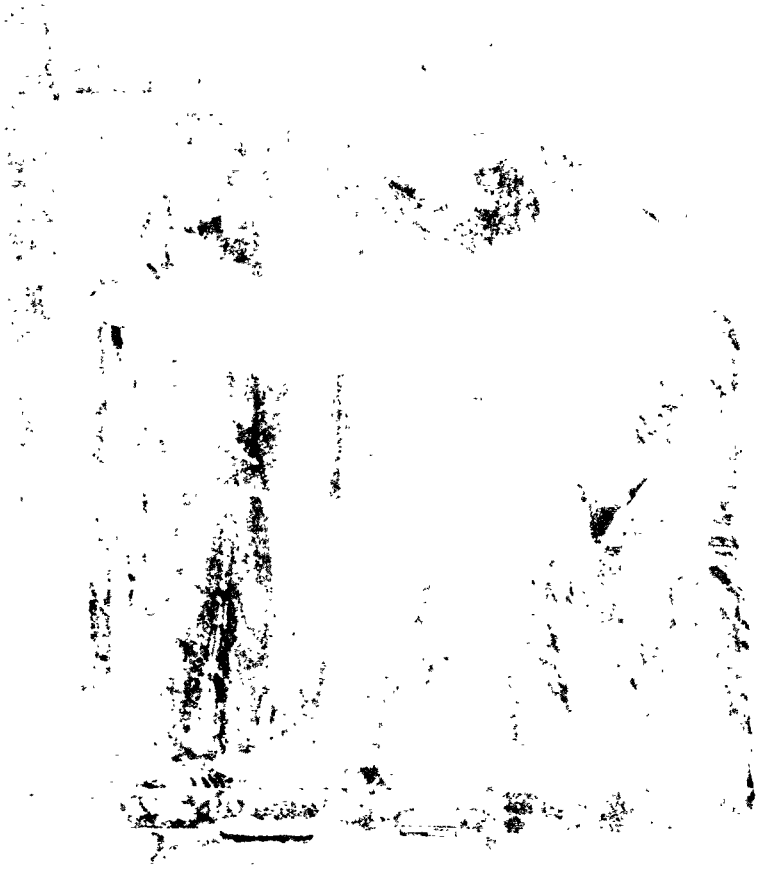
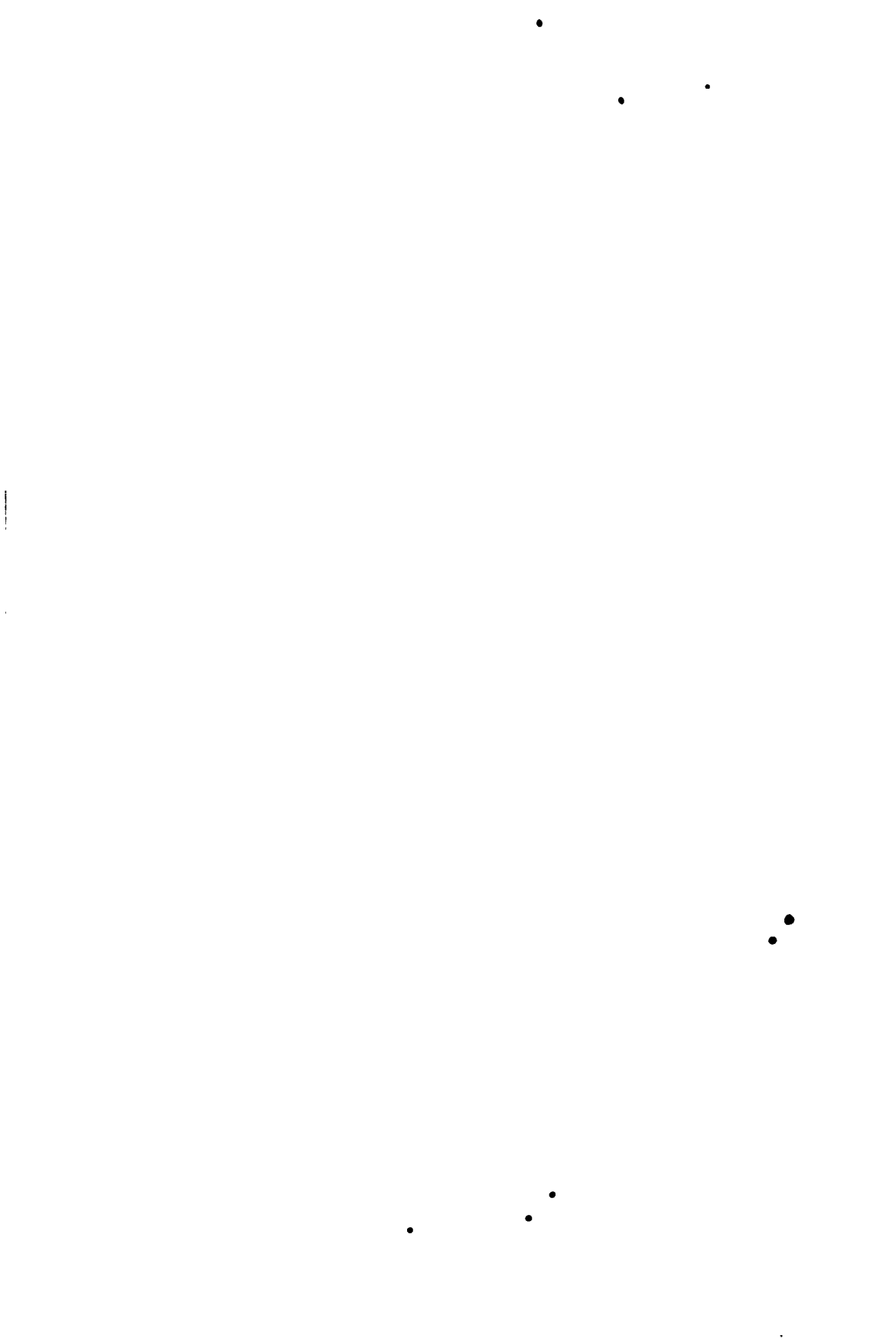


Fig. 834.

¹ O. Benndorf *Die Metopen von Sounion* Berlin 1873 p. 54 ff. pl. 8, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und rom. Sculpt.* pl. 290, 1 (=my fig. 834). Reinach *Rep. Reliefs* ii. 399 no. 1. The metope belongs to the temple commonly known as E or R and regarded as that of Hera (?). It is carved in local limestone, the face, hands, and feet of the goddess being added in white marble—a peculiar technique, which together with other traces of archaism (hair of Zeus, full-front torso, costume of Hera, etc.) points to a date c. 475—460 B.C. (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with fig. 410).

² It would be rash to identify this rock with Mt. Ide or any other definite locality.





A head cast in blue glass (Greek work of c. 400 B.C.), from Girgenti, now at Queens College, Cambridge. Hera *Lakmia* (?)

is wrapped about his legs; but otherwise his broad and powerful figure is undraped. Leaning back on his left hand, he raises his right and clasps Hera by the wrist. She is bare-footed and clad, like the archaic maidens on the akropolis at Athens, in a long sleeved *chiton* with a *himation* slung over her right shoulder and under her left breast. But the *stephane* above her brow and the large veil that falls over her head and forms a framework for her whole figure betoken that she is Hera as a bride¹. With her left hand she is unveiling herself to her bridegroom. In her right she probably held a sceptre.

Variations of the same type may be detected in late Greek vase-paintings, which introduce Zeus and Hera among other deities as accessory figures. Thus a fragmentary Apulian vase in Sir William Hamilton's collection represented a battle of Greeks and Persians below with a council of the gods in the upper



Fig. 835.

register fig. 835)². Here we see Zeus seated on a rock with Ganymedes (?) standing behind him and Hera in front. Zeus is half-draped in a *himation* and has a fillet in his hair. His left hand, decorated with a bracelet, holds a long sceptre: his right he raises in conversation with Hera. She wears an Ionic *chiton*, ornamented with a broad stripe down the middle, and a bridal veil, which she is lifting with her right hand. In her left she supports a long sceptre topped by a palmette; and on her head is a handsome *stephane*.

A large *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples, shows the rape of Persephone,

¹ Other interpretations are considered and dismissed by R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 34 n. 6.

² W. Tischbein *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases...now in the possession of Sir W^m Hamilton* 1795 ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, F. Kopp in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 125 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 293, 2—3.

again with an upper tier of divine spectators (fig. 836)¹. The design is much damaged, and the greater part of Zeus is a modern restoration. But enough remains to prove that the god sat on a richly embellished throne, which has a couple of swans by way of arm-rests. A *himation* is wrapped about his legs; and his feet, which are shod, are placed on a footstool. The sceptre in the right hand of Zeus is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Before her lord with downcast eyes stands Hera. She is clad in a Doric *péplos* with a long overfold, and has sandals on her feet. She has also a *stephane* on her head and a veil. This she raises with her left hand, while in her right she holds a long sceptre. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Ganymedes. And, between them, a winged thunderbolt points downwards to the scene of tumult in progress below.

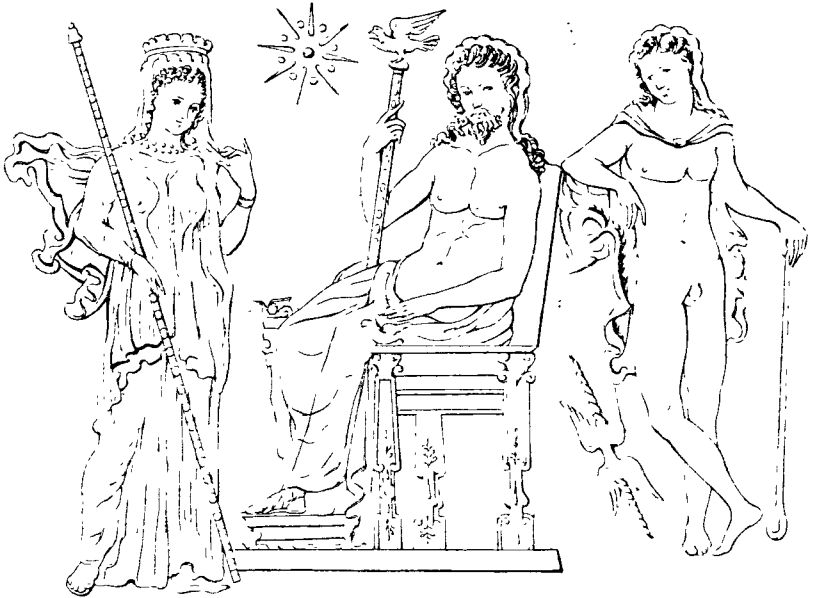


Fig. 836.

On a bell-shaped *kratér* from Saticula (*Santa Agata dei Goti*), now in the same collection, there is a further variation of the type (fig. 837)². The centre of the design is occupied by a group of Athena and Perseus. But adjoining them is a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, the pose of both being reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*. Zeus is clad in a *himation* and wears a wreath in his hair. He rests his right hand on a sceptre and turns to face the centre of interest, regardless of a small hovering Nike, who somewhat needlessly presents him with a second wreath. Before him at a lower level stands Hera, draped in Doric *péplos* and star-spangled veil. In her right hand is a long sceptre, and

¹ Heydemann *Die Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 591 ff. no. 3256, figured in the *Mon. d. Inst.* 11, pl. 31, E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pl. 2, 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* 1, 99.

² Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 224 ff. no. 2202, C. A. de Jorio in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1829 v pl. 51 with text pp. 1-7.

on her head a rayed *stephâne*. She too faces the central group, but is obviously conceived as the bride of Zeus.

(4) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Oche.

Eubœia, a great centre of Hera-worship, was another place associated with the *hieròs gámos*. It was believed that Zeus had met Hera on Mount Oche, the highest point in the south of the island. In this belief, no doubt, folk-etymology played a part¹. But it is to be observed that bronze coins of Karystos at the foot of Mount Oche, struck in s. ii B.C., show sometimes a laureate head of Zeus², sometimes a veiled head of Hera³—a suggestive choice of deities⁴.

(5) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Elymnon.

Elymnon or Elymnia, an island-town off the coast of Eubœia⁵, has been identified with the largest of the Petahan Isles near Karystos⁶, but is better placed on the north coast near Oreos⁷. Sophokles⁸ in his *Naúplios* spoke of 'bridal Elymnon,' because this too was reputed to have been the spot where



Fig 837.

¹ *Supra* ii. 902 n. 1.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 103 pl. 19, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 357. *Cp. supra* p. 127 fig. 48.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 104 pl. 19, 5 and 8, *McClellan Cat. Coins* ii. 332 pl. 203, 23, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 357.

⁴ There is, however, no reason to connect with either of them the early corbelled building on Mt Oche (for which see T. Wiegand 'Der angebliche Urtempel auf der Ocha' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xvi. 11—17 pls. 2 and 3).

⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐλύμνιον.

⁶ C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868—1872 ii. 434 n. 1, H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (with a query), Text p. 3 ('very doubtfully').

⁷ A. Wilhelm in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1892 xv. 115, A. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Em.* v. 2468.

⁸ Soph. *Naúplios frag.* 404 Nauck². 437 Jebb *ap. schol.* Aristoph. *fax* 1126 Καλλίστρατος φησὶ τόπον Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἐλύμνιον. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ναὸν (an *lez.* νῆσον? A.B.C.) φησὶν εἶναι πλησίον Εὐβοίας. νυμφικὸν δὲ τινες αὐτὸ φασίν, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ Ἡρᾷ ἐκεῖ συνεγένετο. μέμνηται καὶ Σοφοκλῆς 'πρὸς πέτραις Ἐλυμνίαις,' καὶ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ 'νυμφικὸν Ἐλύμνιον.'

Zeus consorted with Hera. But that Zeus in Euboeia, like Poseidon in Lesbos¹, bore the cult-title *Elýmnius* is an unsupported conjecture².

(6) *The Hieròs Gámos on Mount Kithairon.*

Plutarch, who as a native of Chaironeia knew the mythology of Boiotia well, gives us a more detailed account³. Hera was brought up as a virgin in Euboeia, but was stolen away by Zeus and carried across the strait to Boiotia. Kithairon, the mountain-god, provided the run-aways with a shady nook and a bridal chamber of nature's making⁴. And, when Makris the nurse of Hera came in search of her and was minded to pry too far, Kithairon prevented her by saying that Zeus was there resting with Leto. So Hera escaped detection and later showed her gratitude by admitting Leto *Mychia*, 'of the Nook,' or *Nychia*, 'of the Night,' to share her altar and her temple. Others declared that Hera herself, since she accompanied there in secret with Zeus, was called *Letò Nychia*, 'the Secret One of the Night'⁵; but when their union was made public—and this happened first in the neighbourhood of Kithairon and Plataiai⁶—came to be known as Hera *Telèia*, 'of the Wedding Rites,' and *Gamèlios*, 'the goddess of Marriage'.

Plutarch's narrative proves that the cult of Zeus and Hera on Mount Kithairon, its ancient ritual⁷ notwithstanding, had been influenced by the Euboean worship of Hera, and must in fact be treated as the remodelled form of an earlier cult, in which Zeus had been paired, not with Hera at all, but with Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia*⁸.

¹ Hesych. Ἐλύμνιος Ἡοσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ. καὶ νῆσος τῆς Εὐβοίας. But also Hesych. Ἐλύμνιος Ἡοσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ.

² O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 623.

³ Plout. περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαιδάλων 3 *ap.* Euseb. *praef. et.* 3. 1. 3.

⁴ Plout. *loc. cit.* ἐπισκίον τινα μυχόν καὶ θάλαμον αὐτοφύη. Cp. *supra* n. 898 n. 6. Kithanon is described as Ἐρυνύων μυχός by Hermesianax of Kypros *frag.* 2 (*frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Muller) *ap.* [Plout.] *de fluv.* 2. 3; see further K. Diltthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxi. 93 f. and S. Eittem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 994 f.

⁵ Ἀητώ from Ἀήθω, λαυθάω, and Νυχία from νύξ, νυχίος. On these derivations see A. Enmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1969 f., to whose references for Ἀητώ add L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 537, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* 2 p. 267 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 327 s.v. 'lateo,' Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 377 s.v. 'lā: "verborgen, versteckt sein."' But F. Wehrli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* Suppl. v. 571 ff. supports the connexion of Ἀητώ, Λατώ, Letun, Latona with Lycian *lada* (*supra* ii. 455) and adds: 'Darum hat auch die ursprüngliche Identität von Leto-Lato und Leda [*supra* i. 763 n. 4] einige Wahrscheinlichkeit.'

⁶ At Plataiai Hera bore the titles Τελέια and Νυμφενομένη (Paus. 9. 2. 7).

⁷ For these epithets see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1134 nn. 5 and 3 f.

⁸ *Supra* ii. 898 n. 6.

⁹ Scholl—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 Ἐπίθερα Ἡπας... 15 νυχίας with the note: 'νυχίας *potius quam νυχίας videtur in Lexstare; nisi potius νυχίας ex νυχίας correctum est.*' See further O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3298.

An interesting relic of this goddess is a paste in the Vienna collection (fig. 838 is enlarged (?) from T. Panofka *Gemmen mit Inschriften* Berlin 1852 pp. 122, 135 pl. 4, 40), which shows a cock surrounded by the inscription ΛΕΤΟΜΥΧΙ (Corp. *inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7361 d) = Ἀητο(ῖ) Μυχί(α). The cock was dear to Leto, as to all women in childbirth, because he stood by her to lighten her labour (Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 29). Possibly Leto Φυρίη of Phaistos (Ant. Lib. 17 (after



Fig. 838.

(7) The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Cave of Achilleus.

A parallel to the 'nook' of Kithairon in the Boeotian myth is furnished by the cave of Achilleus. Ptolemaios *Chénnos* ('the Quail'), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, in his *New or Surprising History* told the tale as follows¹. When Hera was fleeing from the embraces of Zeus, Achilleus the earth-born received her in his cave and persuaded her to yield to the importunity of the god. This was their first union, and Zeus rewarded Achilleus by a promise that all who bore his name thereafter should become famous. Hence the fame of Achilleus son of Thetis. The teacher of Cheiron, too, was called Achilleus: indeed Peleus' son was named after him by Cheiron. Now we are not definitely told by Ptolemaios where his cave of Achilleus was situated. But it may fairly be surmised that Achilleus the earth-born was one with Achilleus the teacher of Cheiron; and, if so, the cave of Achilleus the earth-born must have been the famous cave of Cheiron on Mount Pelion². The whole story is meant to sound like a genuine Magnesian myth.

(8) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Argos.(a) *Zeus and Hera at Hermione.*

Another locality specially connected with the *hieròs gámos* is the Argolid. At Hermione there was a sanctuary of Hera *Parthénos*: and pious but ignorant folk derived the name of the town from the notion that Zeus and Hera had come to an 'anchorage' here after their voyage from Crete³. Aristotle, or perhaps rather Aristokles⁴, in a lost treatise on the cults of Hermione had included the local myth, which told how Zeus had transformed himself into a cuckoo in order to consort with Hera⁵. But we have no proof that the union of these two deities was celebrated at Hermione by actual marriage rites.

(β) *Zeus and Hera at Argos.*

The same conception of the manner in which Zeus gained his desires was current at Argos also, thirty miles away, in the fifth century B.C. The cult-statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion⁶ had in one hand a pomegranate

Nikandros *étrepoioúμενα* book 2)) stood in some relation to Zeus *τελάχος* of Phaistos, whose sacred bird was the cock (*supra* ii. 946 f. n. 0 figs. 838—841).

¹ Ptol. *nov. hist.* 6 (p. 196, 11 ff. ed. Westermann) = Phot. *bibl.* p. 152 a 29 ff. Bekker. The *bona fides* of Ptolemaios Chénnos, impugned by R. Hercher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1856 i. 269—293, was vainly defended by C. Müller *Geographi Graeci minores* Parisiis 1882 ii p. lvii. See W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*⁶ München 1920 ii. 1. 421 f.

² On the cave of Cheiron see *supra* ii. 869 n. 2. Zeus was worshipped on Mt Pelion as *Ἀκταῖος* (*ib.*) and *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* ii. 871 n. 3 (1)).

³ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἐρμιῶν καὶ Ἐρμιόνη·... Ἐρμιον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἐνταῦθα ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἀφιλομένους ὀρμισθῆναι, καὶ τροπῆ τοῦ ο εἰς ε, ὅθεν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἥρας παρθένου ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ (cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 39 ff.).

⁴ Aristot. *frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller) = Aristokl. *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 258 Jacoby) *ap. schol. vet. Theokr.* 15. 64 (Eudok. *vol.* 414^b) cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2. For attempts to alter Ἀριστοτέλης into Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἀριστείδης, Ἀριστοκλῆς, etc. see C. Müller *ad loc.* The most plausible emendation is Ἀριστοκλῆς, on whom see Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultsch.* p. 126 ff. (*frag.* 1).

⁵ *Supra* p. 65 from Paus. 2. 36. 2 (cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2).

⁶ *Supra* p. 65 f.

(fig. 839).¹ about which strange things were said, and in the other a cuckoo-sceptre which Pausanias² explains by the story of Zeus' metamorphosis.

But was the *hieròs gámos* at Argos represented by definite rites? W. H. Roscher³ has collected various facts which point towards that conclusion. On the right hand side of the *prónaos* or vestibule of the Heraion stood a couch known as Hera's couch⁴. A sacrifice offered to the goddess was called by the Argives *Lechérna*⁵, a name presumably related to the word *léchos* 'a bed.'⁶ In the story of Kleobis and Biton the priestess of Hera had to visit her temple on a car drawn by white oxen⁶—a circumstance suggestive of a bridal procession⁷.



Fig. 839.



Fig. 840.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 149 nos. 155 and 156 pl. 28, 16 (my fig. 839 is from a cast) Antoninus Pius, p. 150 no. 159 L. Verus, p. 151 no. 164 Septimius Severus, cp. p. 152 no. 172 pl. 28, 24 Caracalla. *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 23 Antoninus Pius. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 44 ff. Munztaf. 3, 2 Julia Domna, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 34 pl. 1, 12 Antoninus Pius, Muller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 130 pl. 12, 5 Iulia Domna.

² Paus. 2. 17. 4 (cited *supra* p. 65 n. 2).

³ W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 79 f., *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2101 f.

⁴ Paus. 2. 17. 3 κλίνη τῆς Ἡρας, cp. Poll. 3. 43 κλίνη τις ὠνομάζετο γαμική.

S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 137—142 developed the curious view that the central figure of the 'Ludovisi Throne' is Hera, who annually recovers her virginity by bathing in the spring Kanathos (Paus. 2. 38. 2: *supra* p. 224 n. 3). She is successively *Teleía* and *Parthénos* (cp. Paus. 8. 22. 2). As *Teleía* she is immersed with breasts covered by a cloth symbolic of matronhood. As *Parthénos* she emerges with cloth lowered and virginal breasts fully displayed. The figures on the side-arms are typical of *Teleía* and *Parthénos*.

J. N. Svoronos 'Le lit de la Héra d'Argos œuvre de Polyclète ou le "trône Ludovisi"' avec son "pendant" à Boston in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1920—21 xx. 108—159 pl. 3 f. goes further and fares worse. He contends that the 'Ludovisi Throne' and its Boston pendant were the actual couch of Hera seen by Pausanias in the Heraion, and that every detail of their relief-decoration has reference to the *hieròs gámos* of the goddess. He cites as relevant Philarg. *expl. in Verg. ael.* 4. 63 (H. Hagen *Appendix Serviana* Lipsiae 1902 p. 88, 6 ff.) pueris nobilibus editis in atrio Iunoni Lucinae lectus ponitur, Herculi mensa. Myth. Vat. 1. 177 templum Iunonis fuit, in quo men-am Hercules et Diana lectum habuit; ubi portabantur pueri ut de ipsa mensa ederent et inde acciperent fortitudinem, et in lecto Dianae dormirent ut omnibus amabiles fierent et illorum generatio succresceret. But Philargyrius is obviously alluding to a Roman custom (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 374), and the Vatican mythographer is copying him with a blunder or two thrown in. Neither writer says a word about the Argive Heraion.

⁵ Hesych. *Λεχέρνα*: ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἢ θυσία ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἡρᾷ.

⁶ *Supra* i. 447 f.

⁷ Phot. *lex. s.v.* ζεύγος ἡμιονικὸν ἢ βοεικόν· ζεύξαντες τὴν λεγομένην κλινίδα, ἣ ἐστὶν ὁμοία διέδρω· τὴν τῆς νέμφης μέθοδον ποιοῦνται· κ.τ.λ. M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 651.

And on billon coins of Alexandria struck by Nero (fig. 840)¹ Hera *Argèia* is conspicuously veiled.

These considerations, despite the doubts of M. P. Nilsson², do raise a certain presumption that the marriage of Hera was duly celebrated at Argos, though they do not of course prove that the original consort of the goddess was Zeus³. But that as early as the fifth century B.C. Zeus had come to be regarded as the rightful partner of the Argive Hera, and that their union was commemorated by the ritual of a *hieròs gámos*, seems to me a reasonable inference from the final scene of Aristophanes' *Birds*⁴.

At this point the argument can be strengthened by taking into account Roman as well as Greek evidence. Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* makes Psyche pray to Hera as follows: 'O sister and wife of mighty Zeus, whether thou abidest in the ancient temple of Samos, which alone can boast thy birth, thine infant cries, and thy nursing, or hauntest thy blissful seat in lofty Carthage, which worships thee as a virgin carried up to heaven on a lion⁵, or presidest over the famous walls of the Argives near the banks of the Inachos, which tells of thee as already the bride of the Thunderer and the queen of the gods⁶,' etc. etc. Argos is here chosen as a typical centre for the cult of Hera conceived as the bride of Zeus. The same conception underlies the *Agamemnon* of Seneca, in which a chorus of Mycenaean women invokes Hera thus:

Come, consort of the mighty sceptre, come,
Hera the Queen,—
All we that in Mykenai have our home
On thee must lean⁷.

Later in the play Agamemnon on reaching his palace exclaims:

O father, hurler of the cruel bolt,
Driver of clouds, sovereign of stars and lands,
To whom the conqueror brings his triumph-spoils,
And thou too, sister of an almighty lord,
Argolic Hera, gladly will I serve you
With gifts of Araby and suppliant entrails⁸.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 17 nos. 132, 133 pl. 1 (= my fig. 840). 134 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 416 nos. 114 pl. 85, 23, 115 f., J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 8 nos. 266 f., 281—284, 291, 297.

² Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44. He notes, however, that the marriage of Hebe and Herakles, a relief on a silver altar in the Heraion (Paus. 2. 17. 6), was perhaps viewed as a parallel to the marriage of Hera and Zeus. And he accepts as probable the suggestion of W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 33 that the wedding of Demetrios Poliorketes, when *agonothètes* at the Heraia, with Deidameia, daughter of the Molottian king Aiakides and sister of Pyrrhos (Plout. 7. *Demetr.* 25), was designed in imitation of the *hieròs gámos*.

³ I am hinting at Herakles, on whose relations to Hera I have said my say in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xv. 371 ff.

⁴ See *supra* p. 58 ff.

⁵ W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 612 ff., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247—1250, H. Frère 'Sur le culte de Caelestis' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 21—35, A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig—Berlin 1909 pp. 148—150 ('Virgo Caelestis'). Cp. *supra* ii. 68 n. 2, 869 n. 0, iii. 834.

⁶ *Apul. met.* 6. 4 sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te iam nuptam Tonantis et reginam deorum memorat, inclitis Argivorum praesides moenibus.

⁷ *Sen. Ag.* 348 ff.

⁸ *Sen. Ag.* 839 ff.

But more explicit and detailed is a passage in the *Thebaid* of Statius¹. The poet is describing how the wives and children of the Argive warriors implored Hera to protect their absent ones in the perilous expedition against Thebes:

The day of prayer was done, but all night long
They kept their vigil round the altars' flame.
Ay, and they brought a robe by way of gift,
Whose wondrous woof no barren hand had woven
Nor such as lacked a husband—this they brought
In a basket as a veil acceptable
To their chaste goddess. Rich the purple shone
With brodered work and threads of glittering gold—
On it the bride of the great Thunderer
Within her bridal bower: nought she knows
Of wedlock and is fearful to lay by
Her sisterhood; with down-dropped eye she kisses
The lips of youthful Zeus, a simple maid
As yet untroubled by his stolen loves.
With this same veil the Argolic matrons clothed
The ivory goddess, and with tears and prayers
Besought her:—'Look now on the sinful towers
Of Kadmos' daughter, who seduced thy lord,
Queen of the starry sky. Oh, bring to nought
The foemen's rebel hill, and on their Thebes
Fling—for thou canst—another thunderbolt.'

We are surely justified in maintaining that this veil, woven for Hera by fruitful wives and embroidered to represent her wedlock with Zeus, implies the existence of an actual marriage-rite.

One other indication of such a rite is forthcoming, and that from a late and unexpected source. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, *à propos* of the numerous pagan ceremonies through which he passed in his youth², says, 'I went and at Argos, in Hera's rite, was there initiated into the purposes of union—the union, I mean, of lower with upper and of upper with lower air, and likewise of earth with water and of water with lower air³.' It can hardly be doubted that this, as L. Preller⁴ long since conjectured, refers to the old *hieròs gámos* of Zeus and Hera, still kept up in the third century A.D., though then encumbered with a symbolic and *quasi*-philosophical significance⁵.

¹ Stat. *Theb.* 10. 54 ff.

² Cp. *supra* i. 110 f., iii. 775

³ *Confessio S. Cypriani* (in *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Septembris vii. 222 ff.) 1 ἤλθον καὶ ἐν Ἀργεῖ, ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἥρας τελετῇ. ἐμνήσθην ἐκεῖ βουλᾶς ἐνότητος. ἀέρος πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ αἰθέρος πρὸς αέρα. ἅμα δὲ καὶ γῆς πρὸς ὕδωρ καὶ ὕδατος πρὸς αέρα. Hence Eudok. *de s. Cyprian.* 2. 52 ff. ἐνθεν ἐς ἰσπύροτον θαλερόν γενόμεν κατὰ Ἀργος· | ἦν δὲ Τιθωνιάδος ἔρωτις λειχεύμονος Ἡοῦς | μύσσης δ' αἰ· γενόμεν, καὶ αὐτότε ἡέρος ἅμμα (so A. Ludwig for ἀμφω cod. L) | ἠδὲ πολυπτύχοιο πόλου καὶ εἶδον ἄμμα, | σιγγενίην δ' ὕδατων καὶ εὐφορβοῦ ἀρούρης | ἠδ' αὖτις δροσερῶν ναμάτων εἰς ἡέρα διαν.

⁴ L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 1. 351. Cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44 n. 4.

⁵ For Zeus as αἰθήρ and Hera as ἄηρ see *supra* i. 31. Such teaching as that to which Cyprian listened would easily be grafted upon the Hecateitean doctrine of flux or a Stoic adaptation of the same (*supra* i. 28 ff.).

(9) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Athens.

At Athens, and at Athens alone, we have evidence of the rite without the myth. The Athenians had a definite festival called the *Hieròs Gámos*, at which they commemorated the marriage of Zeus and Hera¹. A. Mommsen² rightly identified this festival with the Theogamia, which took place towards the end³ of Gamelion, the month of Hera⁴ (our January to February). H. Usener⁵ drew attention to a passage of Menandros⁶, which enables us to fix the date more exactly as the twenty-fourth or the twenty-seventh of that month⁷. H. von Protz⁸ and L. Deubner⁹ further connect with the same festival the sacrifice of a pig for Zeus *Heraios* recorded in a ritual calendar of the early fifth century found on the Akropolis at Athens¹⁰. The unique epithet by which the husband is named after the wife¹¹ recalls the fact that at Samos¹² and perhaps elsewhere¹³ Zeus in deference to Hera wore the bridal veil¹⁴.

¹ Hesych. *ιερός γάμος· έορτή Διός και Ήρας*, Phot. *lex. s.v. ιερόν γάμον· Ἀθηναῖοι έορτήν Διός άγουσι και Ήρας, ιερόν γάμον καλοῦντες, et. mag.* p. 468, 56 f. *ιερόν γάμον Ἀθηναῖοι έορτήν Διός άγουσι και Ήρας, οὔτω καλοῦντες* (text reconstituted by T. Gaisford).

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 382 f. But his subsequent contention that Hephaistos and Athena, conceived at the Theogamia, were born nine months later at the Chalkeia and Athenaea respectively is neither proved nor probable.

³ Prokl. *in Hes. o. d.* 780 διό και Ἀθηναῖοι τās πρὸς σύνοδον ήμέρας έξελέγοντο πρὸς γάμον και τὰ Θεογάμια έτέλωνν. τότε φυσικῶς είναι πρῶτον οἰόμενοι γάμον, τής σέληνης οὔσης (H. Usener c.j. *ισόσης*) πρὸς ήλιου σύνοδον. T. Bergk *Beitrag zur griechischen Monatskunde* Giessen 1845 p. 36 f. and W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100 held that Proklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 524 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

⁴ Hesych. *Γαμηλιών· ό (5') τῶν μηνῶν, τής Ήρας ιερός.*

⁵ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 428.

⁶ Menand. *Méthe frag.* 2 (*Frags. com. Gr.* iv. 162 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 243 A—B *έιπέ γάρ διέτριψεν ό κομψότατος άνδρῶν Χαίρεφῶν ιερόν γάμον | φάσκων ποιήσειν δευτέρα μετ' εικάδας* (so Usener for *δευτέρα μετ' εικάδα*) | *καθ' αυτόν, ίνα τή τετραδί δειπνή παρ' έτέροις· | τὸ τής θεοῦ γάρ πανταχῶς έχειν καλῶς.* J. de Protz *Lexes Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 4 expounds: 'gloiatur Chaerepho calliditate sua dicens matrimonium Iovis ac Iunonis, quod Gamelionis diei ultimo adtribuisse usum sacrum sumendum est, domi sese die nefasto [cp. *et. mag.* p. 131, 13 ff.] antecedente celebraturum esse, ne hospites accedant; at Anthesterionis sollempni Veneris apud alios esse cenaturum.'

⁷ F. G. Allinson *ad loc.*: 'here the "Fourth" may mean the 24th, *i.e.* the fourth day after the twentieth, or, more probably, the 27th, *i.e.* the fourth (the third) day before the "New and the Old."'

⁸ J. de Protz *op. cit.* p. 4.

⁹ L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 177 f.

¹⁰ J. de Protz *op. cit.* p. 1 ff. no. 1, 20 f., *Inscr. Gr.* ed. mun. i no. 840, A 20 f. [— — Δ] *ii hepaioi: χοίριος* — —]. *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 n. 6.

¹¹ J. de Protz *op. cit.* p. 4 'Plane singularem esse Δία Ἡραῖον ipse fateor. Non est quod miremur Ἀθηναῶν Ἡφαιστῖαν [*supra* p. 216 n. 2], Ἀμφιτρίτην Ποσειδωνίαν (schol. Hom. γ 91) aut Ἀπόλλωνα Λατῶν. Διώνισον Θυανεία. At deum ab uxore denominari aliud est.' He adds *ib.* n. 4 'Non habeo exemplum simile nisi Hesychu glossam Ἡραῖον· Ἡρακλέα [*supra* p. 216 n. 1]'

¹² *Supra* p. 1028 figs. 829 and 830.

¹³ *Supra* p. 1033 pl. lxxii.

¹⁴ *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 378.

Greek art normally recognises Hera as the lawful bride of Zeus. Accordingly they are grouped together in a succession of hieratic types, which perhaps postulate a ritual origin¹.

(a) *Zeus with Hera behind him.*

Vases of the mid sixth century, whether Attic² or otherwise³, represent Olympus by the king and queen of the gods sitting in state. Zeus is enthroned to the right. Hera is enthroned to the right behind him.



Fig. 841.

(β) *Zeus with Hera beside him.*

By the end of the sixth century painters had learnt to economize their design. They now represented Olympus by Zeus enthroned to the right with Hera sitting at his side⁴. Zeus as the more important deity is nearer to the eye

¹ Cp. *supra* pp. 668, 669 f., 688.

² So on the *kratēr* of Klutas and Ergotimos (Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12. Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 150 ff. no. 2, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 255 ff.).

³ So on a 'Chalcidian' *kylix* in the British Museum (*supra* p. 771 n. 1 with fig. 734).

⁴ The red-figured *kylix* by the potter So-sias, at Berlin (*supra* ii. 1167 n. 6, iii. 818 n. o), shows Zeus seated with Hera by his side. The upper part of both figures is missing, but enough remains to prove that Zeus in *chiton* and *himation* was holding out a *phiale*, while his eagle-tipped sceptre leant against his stool (lion-footed and covered with a spotted lion-skin), and that Hera in like costume held sceptre and *phiale*. Before her stands Hebe ("H[37], not [Nik]7, nor H[pa]), with spread wings, filling Hera's *phiale* from an *oinochōe*.

A red-figured *amphora* at Munich, attributed to 'the Nikoxenos painter' (Gerhard

of the spectator¹ (fig. 841). Hebe or Iris or other attendants may stand before them.

(γ) *Zeus with Hera facing him.*

Meantime other painters had hit upon a more effective arrangement. They represent Olympus as an assemblage of deities seated *vis-à-vis*². The partner of Zeus, who still looks towards the right, is almost always Hera, though once



Fig. 842.

Auserl. Vasenb. i. 31 ff. pl. 7, Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 137 f. no. 405, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 31 (v), 32 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 233 no. 6, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 91 no. 1, E. Buschor in Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 250 f. pl. 158 (= my fig. 841), again has Zeus and Hera seated side by side and served by a winged attendant—Hebe (Gerhard, Jahn, Hoppin) or Iris (Beazley) or possibly Nike (Buschor). Buschor notes that the throne of Zeus is shown as if seen from the front, the two Sphinxes being arm-rests and the two wrestlers decorative supports for the seat (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492 and 493). He draws up a list of such thrones, which he regards as characteristic of Zeus.

¹ A black-figured *hydria* from Vulci, at Berlin (Furtwangler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 387 f. no. 1899, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. céram.* i. 39 ff. pl. 22 (= my fig. 842)), promotes Athena to the place of honour—a novelty pardonable on the part of an Athenian painter. With a spear that length she can hardly be Hera, *pace* R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 31 f.

² (1) A black-figured *kylix* at Berlin (*supra* ii. 776 n. 3 with fig. 740).

(2) A red-figured *kylix* at Corneto, by the potter Euxitheos and the painter Oltos (H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875 xlvi. 254—267, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 23—24 (= my fig. 843), *Wien Vorleg. bl.* D pl. 1—2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 214 f. pl. 93, P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rotfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 71 ff., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 203, 4—8, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 250 f. no. 2 fig., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 431 f., iii. 103 figs. 359 f.,

J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 15 no. 49). has Zeus served by Ganymedes and Hestia seated in place of Hera. The figures from left to right are *A*: Hebe (pomegranate, flower), Hermes (flower), Athena (spear, helmet). Zeus (*pháulē*, thunderbolt), Ganymedes (*oinochês*), Hestia (branch, flower), Aphrodite (flower, dove), Ares (spear, helmet), and *B*: Thero (*thýrsos*, doe, snake), Terpes



Fig. 843.



Fig. 844.

(*pléktron*, *phórmixā*), Dionysos (vine, *kántharos*), Kaks (lion, *thýrsos*), Terpon (double flute). On the foot is an Etruscan *graffito*: *Itun Turuce Venela Telinas Tinas Climiaras*.

(3) A red-figured *stámnos* in the Louvre, by the 'Providence painter' (*supra* ii. 735 n. 4. E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3^{me} Serie Paris 1922 p. 237 f. no. G 370 pl. 138, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 134 no. 31). My fig. 844 is from the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 2. The figures from left to right are: Zeus, Nike, Apollon, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Plouton, Persephone (?).

(4) A red-figured *kýlix* in the British Museum, attributed to the school of Brygos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 90 f. no. E 67, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefasse des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 25 f. pl. D

(=my fig. 845), P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 361 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 131 no. 61, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 184 no. 1). shows Zeus seated over against Hera. Ganymedes serves the one; Iris, the other. Ares as a sample god stands between them.

(8) A red-figured *hydria* at Leyden, by the 'Oinante painter' (Roulez *Vases de Leyde*

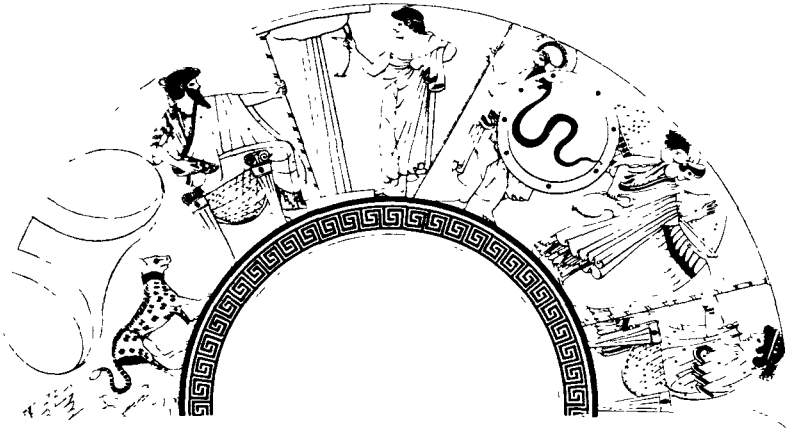


Fig. 845.



Fig. 846.

p. 1 ff. pl. 1 (=my fig. 846), Muller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 16 f. pl. 1, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 266, 1, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 252 no. 3). Zeus is seated opposite to Hera. Nike (rather than Iris) crowns his head. Hermes starts away, prepared to do his bidding. J. Roulez, followed with some hesitation by S. Reinach, took this vase to

by way of exception, Hestia takes her place¹. Iris or Ganymedes or both may be there. and sometimes a Doric column marks the scene as the celestial palace.

Others again varied the scheme by making Zeus and Hera change sides, so



Fig. 847.

represent the *hierôs gámos*. But K. Wernicke concludes: 'Einen tiefen Sinn in dem Bilde zu suchen wäre verfehlt: es ist gewissermaßen eine Genre-scene im Olymp.'

(6) The fragment of a red-figured *skyphos* from Tarentum, now at New York (G. M. A. Richter] in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1912 vi. 97 fig. 5 (=my fig. 847), K. Schefold in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 60 with



Fig. 848.

fig. 19). Zeus seated on an elaborate throne (arm-rest, supported on a lion, ends in a Gorgon-head) has his *himation* drawn up like a veil over the back of his head and holds a sceptre tipped with a dove (Richter) or, more probably, a small eagle (Schefold). Opposite to him is a seated goddess, presumably Hera. And Eros, flying from her to him, presents him with a wreath. Again the scene is suggestive of the *hierôs gámos*.

¹ *Supra* p. 1050 n. 0 (2) fig. On the association of Zeus with Hestia see *supra* i. 17 n. 1, 149 n. 2, 330 n. 4, ii. 259 n. 0, 317 n. 2, 960 n. 0, 1228 f. More in Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1405 n. 2 and Süss in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1300 f.

that he looks to the left and she to the right¹. But such transposition is due to mere love of variety².

(δ) *Zeus with Hera on the frieze of the Parthenon.*

The 'Kodros painter,' as Professor Beazley³ put it, was 'Parthenonian' in his effects. But the Parthenon itself on its eastern frieze⁴ combined in one triumphant synthesis all three traditional types—the tandem, the side-by-side, and the face-to-face arrangement. The deities are mostly seen *en échelon*. Hera is thus behind Zeus, and yet beside him, while with a gesture characteristic of the bride⁵ she turns herself to face her bridegroom. Zeus, alone of the gods, sits on a throne with back and arms: its top-bar terminates in a circular disk and its side-rail is supported on a winged Sphinx. His attitude is one of dignified ease⁶. The right arm, sceptre in hand, rests on his lap; the left leans on the back of his throne. He wears a wreath or fillet in his hair, a *himation* about his legs, and sandals on his feet. Hera sits on a stool, wearing sandals, a Doric *péplos*, and a large outspread veil. She too has a wreath, which is composed of pointed and serrated leaves—probably those of her sacred tree, the willow⁷. At her side in a Doric *péplos* stands Iris⁸, who raises her left hand to adjust a mass of hair and in her right probably held a fillet or garland. In this complex Pheidias—for the design was surely his—has given faultless expression to the current Athenian belief about the wedlock of Zeus and Hera. Moreover, as in the vase-paintings, so on the frieze the group of Zeus and Hera is extended to include a series of other seated deities.

¹ (1) A red-figured *stámmos*, formerly with Depoletti at Rome, latterly with Kaleb-djian in Paris, and now attributed to the painter Hermonax (F. T. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 293—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58. 1 (=my fig. 848), *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 360, 362 ff. pl. 24 b, Reinach *Rep. Vases* i. 157. 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 47^b no. 12 bis) arranges from left to right a goddess (*quis?*), Dionysos (*kuntharos*, vine-staff), Aphrodite (swan, apple), Poseidon² (restored as Dionysos), Plouton (*cornu copiae*), Hera (sceptre), Iris rather than Nike (*anoché, caduceus*), Zeus (*phiale*, sceptre).

(2) A red-figured *kýlix* in the British Museum, assigned to the 'Kodros painter' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 108 ff. no. E 82, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1853 xxv. 103—113, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 49 (=my fig. 849), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* in. 2141 f. pl. 92 fig. 2401, Reinach *Rep. Vases* i. 143, 1 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 154 no. 3, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 no. 5), depicts a symposium of the gods. Outside. *A* Amphitrite (dipper, *alabastron*), Poseidon (trident, *phiale*), Hera (sceptre), Zeus (sceptre, *phiale*), Ganymedes (strainer seen edgewise): *B* Aphrodite (*smematothéke?*), Ares (spear, *phiale* on table), Ariadne (love-gesture of fingers, cp. C. Sittl *Die Gebarden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 256, 287 n. 2), Dionysos (*phiale, thyrsos*), Komos. Inside. Pherrephatta (love-gesture of fingers?), Plouton (*phiale, cornu copiae*).

² Cp. *supra* p. 694 fig. 502.

³ J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 'Schr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonisches.'

⁴ *Supra* ii. 1135 n. 5 with pl. xlv.

⁵ Cp. *supra* p. 1038 fig. 834.

⁶ *Supra* i. 91 f. fig. 64.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1028 ff. So already A. H. Smith *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 76.

⁸ The choice lies between Nike (Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 444, F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgöttin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 9, 39—40) and Iris (J. Stuart and N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 13 pl. 24, followed by most modern critics). Somewhat in favour of the former is her long clothing; but decisive for the latter is her position next Hera, not Zeus.

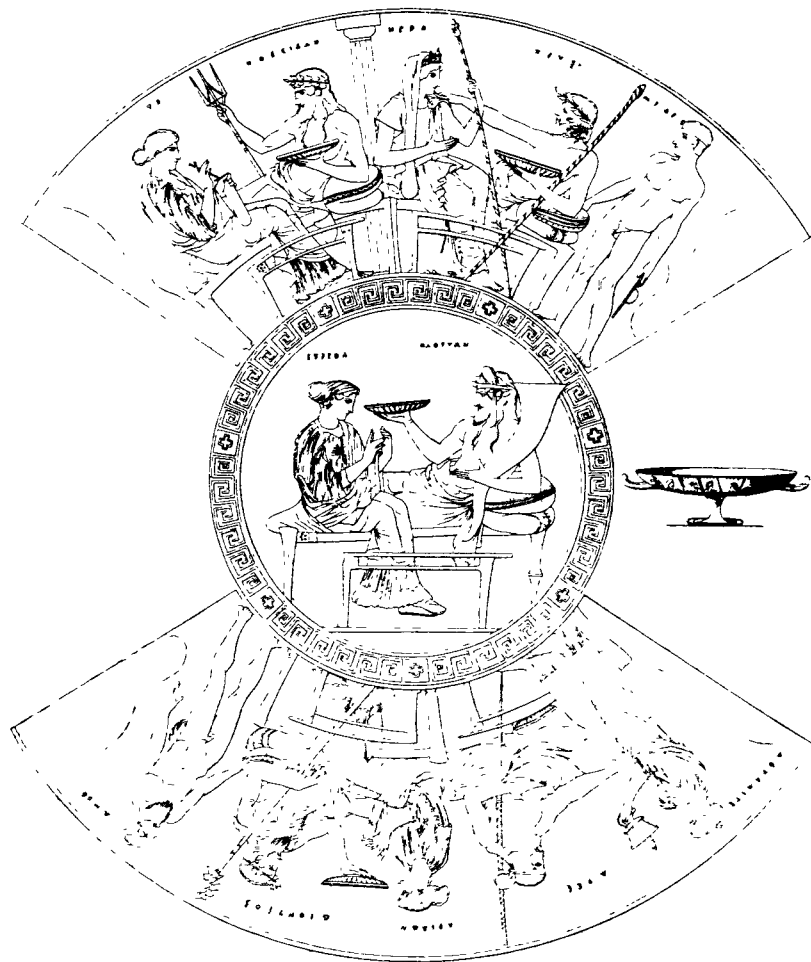


Fig. 849.

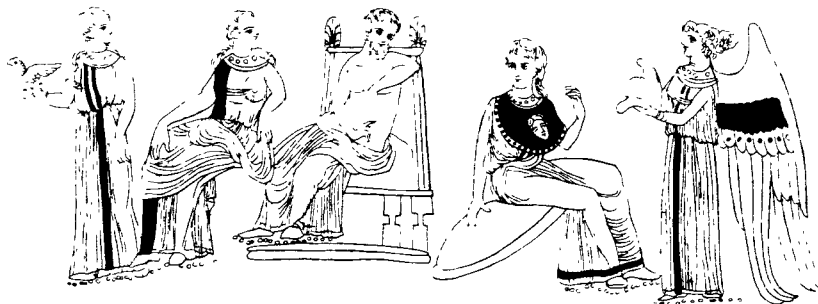


Fig. 850.

Not altogether uninfluenced by the Parthenon frieze is the upper¹ row of figures on an 'Apulian' *amphora* in the Santangelo collection at Naples (fig. 850)². The painter of this vase has represented in crude and clumsy juxtaposition a sequence of Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus, Athena, and Nike. The arrangement of Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Athena³ owes something to the Phediac scheme, modified of course to suit the subject in hand.

(ε) *Zeus with Hera in archaistic reliefs.*

Zeus and Hera, conceived as a wedded pair, had long since taken their place among the traditional gods of Greece. They figure therefore as two of the canonical twelve, who from the fifth century onwards tend to be represented in an affected archaistic style suggestive of long-standing cults. O. Weinreich⁴ in a recent article has traced with masterly skill the whole rise and development of these 'Zwölfgotter.' He shows convincingly that they were *ab origine* the Olympian counterpart of an earthly 'Zwölfstaat'—a divine 'Synoikismos' which shaped itself on Ionian soil at least as far back as the seventh century B.C.⁵, that in the fourth century owing to Iranian influence on the Platonic school they came to be viewed as 'Monats- oder Zodiakusgotter'⁶; and that in Graeco-Roman times they played a noteworthy part in the formation of political and social ideals⁷, in theological speculation⁸, and in magic⁹. Here I am concerned merely to illustrate the various positions assigned to Zeus and Hera in the archaistic renderings of the canon.

A votive relief, said to have been found at Tarentum and offered for sale in Paris, was well published by E. Schmidt (fig. 851)¹⁰, who now dates it as early as c. 460 B.C.¹¹ It represents, on Pentelic(?) marble and in curiously flat technique, the twelve gods standing, not walking, with left foot advanced, as if they were lined up for the start of a procession. Their order from right to left is Apollon

¹ Cp. *supra* v. 200 n. 6.

² Heydemann *Vasensamm. Neapel* p. 636 ff. Santangelo no. 24, Raoul-Rochette *Musées inédits d'antiquit. figurée* Paris 1833 p. 201 ff. pl. 41 (part of which = my fig. 850).

³ Her relative position may be reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, but her type is obviously taken from the balustrade of Nike *Ἄφροδῖς* (R. Kekulé *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* Stuttgart 1881 p. 7 pl. 2, E, R. Heberdey 'Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxi—xxii. 14 f. fig. 10), as is that of the helmet-bearing Nike who stands beside her (Kekulé *op. cit.* p. 8 pl. 4, M, Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 22 f. fig. 18).

⁴ O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 764—848. See also the same scholar's earlier works: 'Lykische Zwölfgotter-Reliefs' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1913 Abh. v. 1—42 fig. 1 and pls. 1—3, *Triskaulekadische Studien* Giessen 1916 pp. 1—124, 'Zwölfgotter, Zwölfzahl und Zwölfstaat' in *Aus Unterricht und Föschung* 1935 vii. 319—331.

⁵ O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 768 f., 771 f., 829 f.

⁶ *Id. ib.* vi. 770, 823 ff. Cp. a weighty passage in F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 476—478.

⁷ O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 830 ff.

⁸ *Id. ib.* vi. 835 ff.

⁹ *Ia. ib.* vi. 837.

¹⁰ Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und rom. Sculpt.* pl. 660 (=my fig. 851) with text by E. Schmidt pp. 1—11, O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 790 ff. fig. 2. Width: 1.195^m.

¹¹ E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 57.

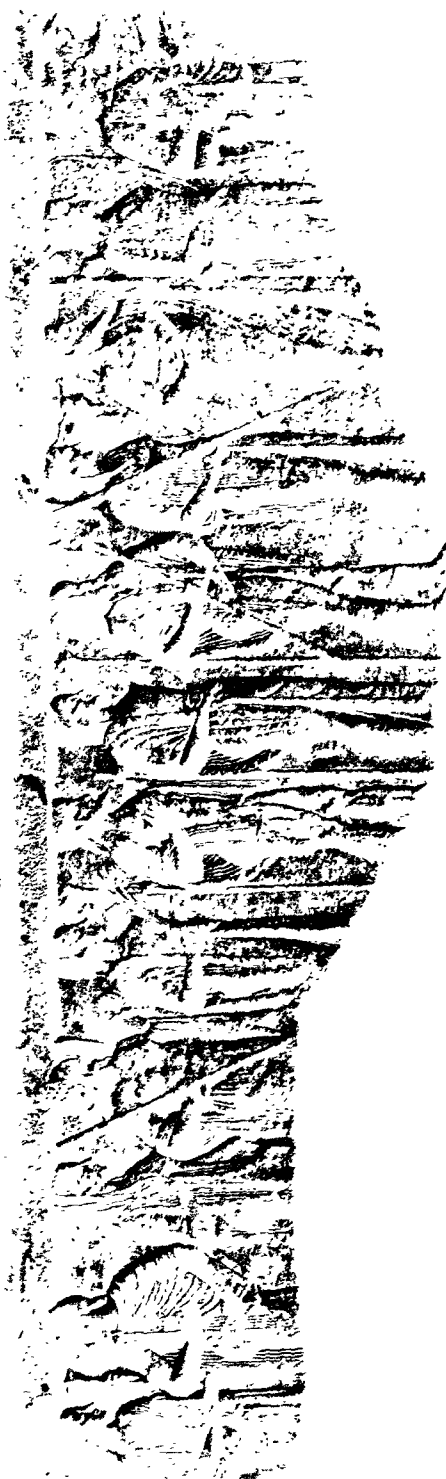


Fig. 851.

(*pléktron, kithára*, bay-wreath), Artemis (bow, quiver), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Athena (spear, owl, helmet, *aigís*); Poseidon (trident), Hera (sceptre), Hephaistos (shorter staff), Demeter (corn-ears, sceptre); Ares (spear, helmet, breastplate), Aphrodite (small oval fruit between fingers of right hand), Hermes (*caduceus, pílos*), Hestia (*phíule*, sceptre). The twelve form three fours, the divisions between them being marked by the fact that the leader of the second and third group turns to address his immediate follower—an action repeated by the final pair. Throughout the line god alternates with goddess. But it is to be observed that Hera's place next Zeus is usurped by Athena—a variation which, as in the case of a black-figured vase already mentioned¹, points to the patriotic design of an Athenian craftsman.

The same arrangement in three fours appears five centuries later on the so-called *ara Borghese* in the Louvre (fig. 852, *a—c*)². This triangular base of Pentelic marble, meant to support a *candelabrum* or a tripod, is embellished with two ranges of divine figures. Above we see the twelve gods grouped as follows from left to right: Zeus (thunderbolt) with Hera (sceptre, bridal veil) and Poseidon (trident) with Demeter (corn-ears?); Apollon (*pléktron, kithára?*—wrongly restored as a goddess³!) with Artemis (arrow?, quiver?, bow) and Hephaistos (pincers—again wrongly restored as a goddess!) with Athena (spear, *aigís*, helmet?, shield?); Ares (spear, shield, helmet?, breastplate?) with Aphrodite (dove) and Hermes (*caduceus, talaria*) with Hestia (veil, sceptre). Below on a larger scale are the three Charites (joining hands for the dance); the three Horai (flower, grapes, corn); the three Moirai (sceptres). The general effect is that of an archaizing *santa conversazione*. But it is clear that Zeus and Hera head the assembly, and that the Charites⁴, the Horai⁵, the Moirai⁶ are all introduced in relation to Zeus.

The arrangement in fours underlies also the grouping of the twelve on the *puteal Albani*, a well-mouth of Roman date formerly in the Albani collection but now in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 853)⁷. This relief, of Greek marble but Roman design⁸, divides the gods into two unequal companies, eight moving towards the right, four towards the left. On the one hand we have Zeus (thunderbolt, sceptre), Hera (*stépháne*, bridal veil), Athena (*aigís*, helmet, spear),

¹ *Supra* p. 1049 n. 1.

² Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. i. 170—181 pls. 172—174 figs. 11—17 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 65 f. Muller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 8 pl. 12, 43 and 44, pl. 13, 45 (= my fig. 852, *a, c. b*), Frohner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 3 ff. no. 1. Height: 2.089^m.

³ O. Jahn in the *Ber. sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist.* Classe 1868 p. 193 pl. 5, 1—3 published sketches of the base, made by Pighius *c.* 1500 A.D., which show the figures without the misleading alterations. A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2137 with figs. 2394—2396 inserts the sketches of Pighius into the drawings of Muller—Wieseler.

⁴ *Supra* i. 155, ii. 232 n. 0 fig. 160, iii. 955.

⁵ *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2, 232 n. 0, 372 f., 1138 n. 5, iii. 955.

⁶ *Supra* ii. 231 n. 8, 1138 n. 5.

⁷ Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 106 ff. Galleria no. 31 b pl. 29 (six photographs, each showing two deities), Muller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 137 ff. pl. 18, 197 (= my fig. 853), W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1912 i. 431 ff. no. 783 (who notes that, according to old drawings, the present restored head of Aphrodite should have been looking backwards to link up with the other company), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 798 f. with fig. 4. Height: 0.493^m.

⁸ E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 25 f. ('flavische Zeit ist mir das wahrscheinlichste, hadrianische das späteste mögliche Datum').

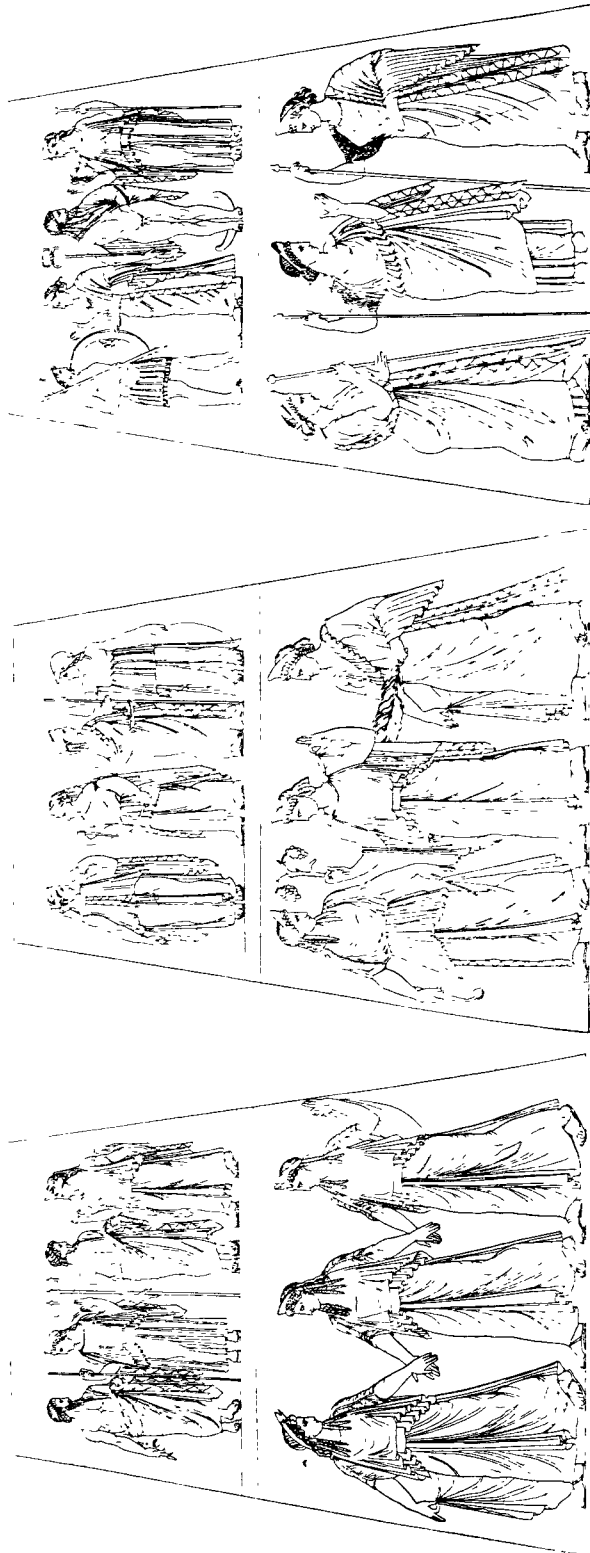


Fig. 852.

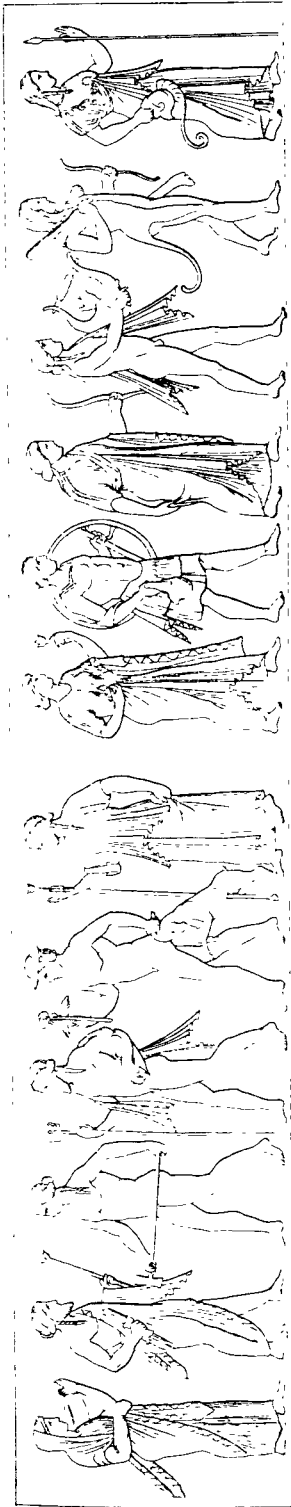


Fig. 853.



Fig. 854.

Herakles (lion-skin, club, bow), Apollon (*pléktron*, lyre), Artemis (bow), Ares (breastplate, helmet, shield, greaves), Aphrodite (bud, flower); on the other hand, Hephaistos (double axe), Poseidon (trident, dolphin), Hermes (*pétasos*, winged *caduceus*, goat), Hestia? (sceptre).

Not three fours, but four threes, was the distribution of the twelve on the so-called *ara Albani*, a quadrangular base of marble still in the Villa Albani (fig. 855)¹. Three slabs only of this relief are extant. They represent a procession of deities passing from left to right—Artemis (torches), Leto?² (sceptre), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Hera (*stephúne*, sceptre, bridal veil), Poseidon (trident), Demeter (‘poppies and corn-ears, sceptre’), Dionysos (*nebrís* restored as breastplate, *thýrsos*), Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*). But these figures were not all. A fragment of drapery to be seen in front of Artemis’ right knee (fig. 855, *c*) makes it probable that Apollon, chanting, originally led the way. And a forearm visible behind Hermes (fig. 855, *a*) proves that he was followed by another deity, possibly Hestia. It seems likely that the canonical number was completed by the presence of two more gods on the missing slab.

J. G. Zoega³ was the first to suggest that this monument showed the wedding of Zeus and Hera. His opinion was adopted by F. G. Welcker⁴, who noted the wreaths worn by all the extant figures, and met P. A. Visconti’s objection that Zeus and Hera appear on separate slabs by the conjecture that the procession was designed for a circular, not a quadrangular, base. K. Wernicke⁵ too endorses Zoega’s view, though with some hesitation. But W. Amelung⁶ finds this explanation far from convincing. No doubt a well-mouth so decorated would be suitable enough in a private house: the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings⁷. Nevertheless it would be safer to conclude

¹ Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14—26 pl. 1, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 174 ff. Atlas pl. 10. 29 *a—c*. Muller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 129 no. 1, W. Helbig *op. cit.*³ ii. 458 f. no. 1930, O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 800. My fig. 855, *a—c* is from photographs of the cast at Cambridge. Height: 0.65^m.

The face of Hera has been retouched, that of Demeter more seriously altered. The head and right arm of Hermes, the face and right arm of Dionysos, perhaps also the legs of the latter, are modern. Hermes was originally bearded; and Dionysos wore, not a breastplate, but a *nebrís* over his short *chiton*. The bird on the sceptre of Zeus is not a cuckoo, as G. Zoega thought, but an eagle.

² See, however, Muller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 19 ‘Hier, unmittelbar vor dem Brautpaar, ist die Stelle der Brautmutter; man hat daher entweder auf Rhea oder Tethys (als Pflegemutter) gedeutet; der Gedanke an Leto (weil sie den Mantelzipfel der Artemis fasst) ist entschieden zu verwerfen, solche in dieser Klasse von Reliefs typischen Zuge sind inhaltlich ohne Bedeutung.’

³ G. Zoega *Li basilirhevi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii. 251—257 pl. 101.

⁴ F. G. Welcker ‘Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera’ in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1842 i. 420 ff. = *id.* *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, 1.

⁵ Muller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9.

⁶ W. Amelung in W. Helbig *op. cit.*³ ii. 459: ‘Doch ist die Deutung auf den Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera keine-wegs zwingend.’

⁷ Diod. 5. 73 *προθύουσι δὲ πρότερον ἅπαντες τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τελείῳ καὶ Ἡρᾷ Τελείᾳ διὰ τὸ τούτους ἀρχηγούς γεγονέναι καὶ πάντων εὐρετάς*, Dion. Hal. *ars rhet.* 2. 2 *καὶ ὅτι οὗτοι (sc. οἱ θεοὶ) οἱ εὐρόντες καὶ δείξαντες τοῖς γάμοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἡρα, πρῶτοι ζευγνύντες τε καὶ συνδύζοντες· οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ Πατήρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζηνγία ἀπὸ τοῦ ζευγνύναι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι*. Cp. Aisch. *Ἐπίγονοι frag.* 55 Nauck² *ap. schol.* Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 10 and see also schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 973.



b

Fig. 855.

a

that the twelve gods are here portrayed simply as a divine team arriving¹ to bless the home of their worshippers. They are the plastic counterpart of the painted twelve found more than once at Pompeii² (figs. 856, 857). It may be doubted whether their religious significance was much greater than that of our own Apostle-spoons.

(10) The *Hieros Gamos* in the Far West.

There is no reason to think that the myth of the *hieros gamos* was ever located at Athens³. Athenian poets do indeed occasionally refer to such a myth. Sophokles speaks of the Gardens of Zeus and their proverbial felicity⁴, Aristophanes of the Plain of Zeus and the bridal bed towards which at the triumphant close of his great comedy the birds wing their way⁵. But the home

W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 n. o (= *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100) 'Nach den Worten des Lex. rhet. p. 670, 28 Pors. [on which source consult W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1924 ii. 2. 876 f.] *οἱ γαμοῦντες ποιοῦσι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἱεροῦς γάμους* scheint man jede Hochzeit als eine Art Hieros-gamos aufgefasst zu haben.' But?

¹ Cp. e.g. Plaut. *Epid.* 610 f. si unilecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter, | ita non omnes ex cruciatio poterunt eximere Epidicum.

² (1) On the outer wall of a corner-house, where the *Vicolo dei dodici iadi* runs into the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. viii. 3) (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 206—214 pl. K, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 5 f. no. 7, J. Overbeck *Pompeji* Leipzig 1884 p. 244, Muller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 62 ff. pl. 6, 2 (= my fig. 856), A. Mau *Pompeii its Life and Art*² trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 236, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 5 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*⁶ Leipzig 1928 p. 120). The gods, standing between two bay-trees, are—from left to right—Vesta (cup (not apple), sceptre, a-s-), Diana (spear, bow and arrows, fawn), Apollo (*cithara*), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Minerva (helmet, spear, shield), Iupiter apparently of youthful beardless type (sceptre), Iuno (sceptre), Volcanus of beardless type (*pileus*, hammer, tongs), Venus *Pompeiana* (*modius*, small branch?, sceptre, rudder?), Mars (helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield), Neptunus (trident), Mercurius (winged *petasos*, *talara*, purse, winged *caduceus*). Beneath the twelve and under their protection was the painting of an altar set out with various fruits and approached by two snakes (beards, crests, forked tongue-) with a background of bay-bushes.

(2) On the outer wall of a house in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. ix. 11) (M. Della Corte in the *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 417 ff. figs. 1, 2, 2 a, R. Delbrueck in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 162 with fig. 17, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*⁶ Leipzig 1928 p. 133 fig. 62, F. Saxl *Mithras* Berlin 1931 p. 75 n. 4 with pl. 30 fig. 165 (= my fig. 857), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 808 with fig. 5). The gods, standing *en face* between two (?) Corinthian pillars, are—from left to right—Jupiter (sceptre, thunderbolt), Iuno (*strophane*, veil, *patera*, sceptre), Mars (Oscan helmet, breastplate, spear, round shield, *baltus*, sword?), Minerva (crested Corinthian helmet, *Gorgoneion*, *patera*, spear, round shield), Hercules (lion-skin, *baltus*, *skyphos*, club), Venus (veil, winged Cupid), Mercurius (purse, *caduceus*), Proserpina (*modius*, sceptre), Volcanus of juvenile type (*pileus*, hammer), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Apollo (bow, quiver, *plectrum*, lyre), Diana (crown, bow, quiver, *patera*, sceptre). Adjoining this group is an altar on which were found charcoal and cinders, remains of the last offering, and above it the painting of a sacrifice by the *vicomagistri*.

³ *Supra* p. 1047.

⁴ Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck², 320 Jebb (cited *supra* ii. 1021).

⁵ Aristoph. *av.* 1758 (cited *supra* ii. 1021, iii. 59).

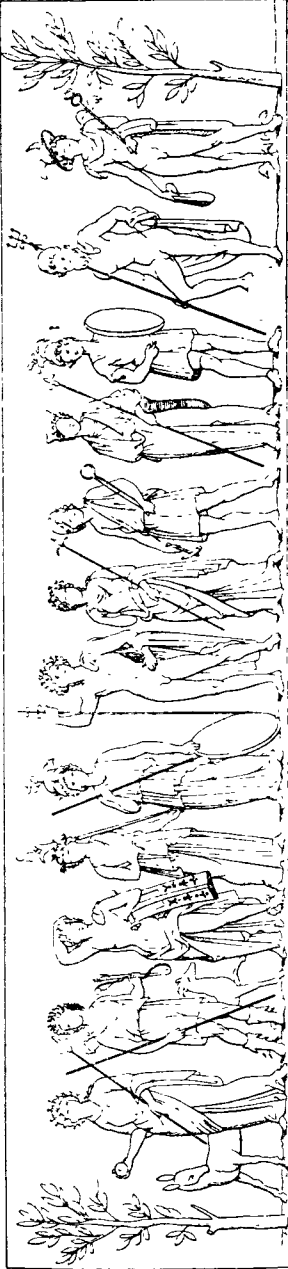


Fig. 856.



Fig. 857.

of Zeus is placed in the far west—a sunset fancy, for which mortals sigh in vain. Thus Euripides in his *Hippolytos* makes a chorus of Troezenian women, fain to escape from the troubles of this life, exclaim:

O to win to the strand where the apples are growing
Of the Hesperid chanters kept in ward,
Where the path over Ocean purple-glowing
By the Sea's Lord is to the seafarer barred!
O to light where Atlas hath aye in his keeping
The bourn twixt earth and the heavens bestarred,
Where the fountains ambrosial sunward are leaping
By the couches where Zeus in his halls lieth sleeping,
Where the bounty of Earth the life-bestowing
The bliss of the Gods ever higher is heaping!¹

The myth here touched upon is set out more fully by Pherekydes, the logographer of Leros, who is called an Athenian² also, probably because he spent most of his life at Athens. When Zeus married Hera,—he says³—the gods brought wedding-gifts to the bride. Among them came Ge, bearing boughs of golden apples. Hera, astonished at the sight, bade plant the boughs in her garden⁴ hard by Mount Atlas. But Atlas' virgin daughters, the Hesperides, kept taking of the apples; so Hera set a monstrous snake to guard the tree. This snake was slain by Herakles and translated to the stars by Hera⁵.

Pherekydes' tale gives prominence to Ge; and it is to be observed that a Pindaric fragment⁶, our oldest source for a marriage of Zeus in the remote west, mentions as his consort, not Hera at all, but Themis—a goddess expressly identified with Ge both in the poetry of Aischylos and in the official nomenclature of Athens⁷.

(11) Inferences concerning the *Hieròs Gámos*.

We have now passed in review the evidence, both literary and monumental, for the *hieròs gámos* of Zeus and Hera. Two points emerge and must be emphasised.

¹ Eur. *Hipp.* 742—751 trans. A. S. Way.

² Soud. s.v. Φερεκύδης, on which see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ Munchen 1912 i. 454 f. and W. Schmid—O. Stahlin *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* Munchen 1929 i. 1. 710 ff. *Supra* p. 455.

³ Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Muller)=*frag.* 16 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 Jacoby) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3, Hyg. *font. astr.* 2. 3, Myth. Vat. i. 106, 2. 161, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 382, 21 ff. Eyssenhardt. Cp. the longer account in Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Muller)=*frag.* 16 a and *frag.* 17 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 f. Jacoby). See also Athen. 83 c (*supra* ii. 1021).

⁴ This garden is called Ἡρῆς λειμῶν (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164) or θεῶν κήπος (Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*supra* n. 3)). It is identical with the Ὠκεανοῦ κήπος, where the Clouds array their dance (Aristoph. *nub.* 271). Cp. τοὺς Σελήνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λειμῶνας (Plout. *anat.* 20).

Here grew the trefoil ὠκίθσον (Hesych. s.v.), used as fodder by the fawns of Artemis and the horses of Zeus (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 163 ff.).

⁶ *Supra* p. 489 figs. 318 and 319.

⁶ *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1.

⁷ *Supra* ii. 176 n. 1.

On Themis as 'an emanation from Ge' see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 12 ff. Cp. also Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 475 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 101 n. 5 ff., 148 n. 5 f., 1066, 1080 n. 6, 1094, 1166 n. 13.

In the first place, the great bulk of the evidence is comparatively late. If we except one passage in the *Iliad*, neither ritual nor myth is attested before the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the single exception is itself certainly an addition, probably a late addition, to the *Iliad*. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield assigned it to the third and latest stratum of the poem, a stratum which they date between 1000 and 800 B.C.¹ Professor G. Murray, who lays stress on the 'Milesian' tone of the episode, speaks of it as 'that late Homeric story of the *Outwitting of Zeus*' and refers it to a period when 'the Epos as a form of living and growing poetry was doomed'.² However that may be, not a single allusion to the sacred marriage of Zeus with Hera is forthcoming from the Homeric hymns or Hesiod, from Pindar or the other lyrical poets, one indirect reference only from Aischylos³, none from Sophokles, none from Herodotos, Thoukydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Platon, none even from Pausanias. Nor is the scene represented by monuments of any kind belonging to the genuinely archaic period of Greek civilisation. This almost complete absence of early evidence raises a suspicion that the *hieròs gámos* was of comparatively recent introduction.

In the second place, this suspicion is deepened by the fact that here and there, even where the *hieròs gámos* is attested, Zeus seems to have had an older partner, who was not Hera, or Hera an older partner, who was not Zeus. For example, we have seen reason to think that on Mount Kithairon Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia* was paired with Zeus before the arrival of Hera⁴, and that in the myth of Zeus' western marriage Themis, not Hera, was the original bride⁵. A *kylix* by the painter Oltos strangely ignored Hera in favour of Hestia in a scene perhaps reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*⁶. At Argos the evidence pointed to a marriage of Hera, but did not prove that her original consort was Zeus⁷; while at Knossos it was practically certain that the ritual marriage of Zeus and Hera had been preceded by a ritual marriage of a sun-god and a moon-goddess in bovine form⁸.

In short, the case for Hera as essentially and *ab origine* the bride of Zeus is neither proven nor probable.

¹ *The Iliad of Homer* ed. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield London 1898 ii pp. xx, xxxiii, 329 ff.

² G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic* Oxford 1907 p. 242 ff. *Id. ib.*³ Oxford 1924 p. 275 still speaks of 'that late Homeric story of the *Tricking of Zeus*.'

³ *Supra* p. 1060 n. 7.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1042.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1064.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1049 n. 2 (2), fig. 843.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1045.

⁸ *Supra* i. 223, iii. 1032.

ADDENDA

i. 2 n. 2. For the blue-black eyebrows of Zeus cp. Apul. *met.* 6. 7 nec renuit Iovis caeruleum supercilium. See also S. Marinatos in the 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1927—1928 p. 198 f. (Mesopotamian technique with inlay of lapis lazuli or blue paste), J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 p. 192 f. (normal colouring of Mediterranean physique).

i. 7 n. 2. Add *Anth. Plan.* 121. 3 ἦν ἐφορῶσιν ἀπ' αἰθέρος αἱ Διὸς αὐγάι.

i. 15 n. 6. A parallel to the line of Ennius is the fine passage in Pacuvius *Chryses frag.* 6 (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 99 f. Ribbeck) *ap. Varr. de ling. Lat.* 5. 17, Cic. *de nat. dcor.* 2. 91, *de div.* 1. 131, Non. Marc. p. 209, 8 f. Lind-say.

i. 18 n. 3. See now the dissertation of H. Oppermann *De Jove Panamario* Bonn 1919—1920, revised and partly rewritten in his *Zeus Panmaros* Giessen 1924 pp. 1—94, J. Hatzfeld 'Inscriptions de Panamara' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 57—122 (text of 139 inscriptions), P. Roussel 'Les mystères de Panamara' *ib.* pp. 123—137 (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 517 f.), P. Roussel 'Le miracle de Zeus Panamarios' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 70—116 with pls. 5 and 6 restores a long inscription, from the wall of the temple, recording how Zeus with sudden flame and fog repulsed troops (perhaps those of Q. Labienus in 41—40 B.C. (Dion Cass. 48. 261)) attacking his sanctuary (summarised by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 223 and by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 539). When the enemy attempted a night-surprise, 7 [---ὁ θεὸς μετὰ φωτὸς φλόγα πολλήν [α]ἰθροῖς ἐνετίναξεν ὥσ[τε]---]. When they re-umed operations the next day, 10 [---συνέβη αὐτοῖς περιχυθῆναι οὐμίχλην βλαβεῖαν ὥστε τοὺς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μάχομένους λαθεῖν αὐτοῖς] [---κύκλω δὲ περὶ τὸ μ[έ]ρο[ς] τοῦ χωρίου καθ' ὃ προσβάλλειν ἠπεχείρησαν] | [ἐπιγείνεσθαι χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ καταρραγῆναι βροντὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ διαίσεις ἀστρα|πᾶς διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ δεινῶς κατεπλάγησαν] | [οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ κτανρῆ πολλή ἦν τῶν βοηθούτων τῶν μὲν ΙΧΩΡΗΝ (so G. Cousin) φωνούντων], ἔτι δὲ ἀναβοων[των] μεγάλη τῆ φωνῆ μέγαν εἶναι Δία Πανάμαρον, κ.τ.λ. A third and final assault was defeated by the shouting of unseen helpers and the baying of supernatural hounds: 24 [---κύκλω δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον πολιορκούντων, ἀλαλαγμὸς τε ἀντήχησεν ὡς βοηθείας, [ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιγενομένης, καίπερ οὐδε]ρὸς φανοῦμένοι, καὶ κινῶν ἔλαγμὸς ἐγείνετο πόλις ὡς προσπλη[ε]κουμένων τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν κ.τ.λ. A. Laumonier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 lviii. 336 f. no. 20 with fig. (Stratonikeia) Δομέστεχος | Δεῖ Πανάμαρω | καὶ Ἐκάτη on a marble slab above a lion-head (fountain-jet?) in relief.

i. 23 n. 6. On hair-offering see further L. Sommer *Das Haar in Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen* Munster i. W. 1912 pp. 1—86, G. Wilke 'Ein altgermanisches-Haaropfer' in *Mannus* 1924 xvi. 64 ff., G. Kosinna 'Zum Haaropfer' 112, R. Moschkau 'Nachtrag zum germanischen Haaropfer' *ib.* 1925 xvii. 121, H. Lewy 'Haarscheren als "rite de passage"' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 203 f., H. Bachtold-Staubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1239—1288 ('Haar'). Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 475 ff.

S. Augemina *Il R. Museo di Spina* Ferrara 1935 p. 116 pl. 62 publishes a fine Etruscan statuette, of bronze washed in silver, which represents a boy, clad in a *chlamys*, severing a long tress of his hair with his sword.

i. 26 n. 10. Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* epist. p. 209. 14 ff. Muller καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὁ παρ' Ὀμήρω. τοῖς περὶ Ὀλυμπον θώκοις ἐμπρέπων αἰθέριος, αὐτῆ γαῖα αὐτῆ τε θαλάσση τὰ κάτω μεταστοιχείωσαι βρενθεται, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ἂν ἐλκυσθῆναι κάτω ἀλαφρονεῖται· κ.τ.λ., *id.* in *Il.* p. 1057, 49 Ζεὺ ἄνα Δωδωναίε, τοιτέστιν αἰθέριε καὶ περιγίεε.

i. 27. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 408 no. 22 records a dedication from The-piai [Κα]λλίμαχος [Διὸς?] | Αἰθρίου, [i]αρεῖς Ἀθάν[αι].

i. 34 n. 3. On the pediment of the temple of Jupiter *Capitolinus* see now A. M. Colini in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Commun. di Roma* 1925 liii. 160—200 figs. 1—8 and pl.

i. 38. The heads hanging on the palace-wall appear also on a sarcophagus-lid found in Rome and published by R. Paribeni in the *Nat. Scav.* 1926 p. 295 f. pl. 8. a.

i. 41 ff. See further the careful dissertation of A. Schlachter *Der Globus: seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ viii) Leipzig—Berlin 1927 pp. 1—118.

i. 46. Cp. R. Browning *The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church* 47 ff. 'So, let the blue lump pose between my knees, | Like God the Father's globe on both his hands | Ye worship in the Jesu Church so gay.'

i. 47. A gilded bronze statuette with eyes of silver inlay, formerly in the Somzée Collection, represented Zeus enthroned with his left foot resting on a high footstool, restored as a large globe (A. Furtwangler *Sammlung Somzée* München 1897 p. 58 f. no. 87 pl. 34, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 780 no. 1).

i. 52 n. 7. R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 223 n. 29 f. deals with this apple as the 'orb of dominion.'

i. 53 with fig. 31. E. Lattes *Le iscrizioni falcolatine dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca* Milano 1892 pp. 104 f., 111, *id. Saggi e appunti intorno alla iscrizione etrusca della mummia* Milano 1894 p. 24 f. regards the Orvieto cone as an altar for libation to the dead, and reads *Tinia, tinsevil* | *s. asi. sacri* = Iovis diovila (haec est) super ara sancta.

i. 53 f. On the stone of Terminus see also E. Santer 'Die Entwicklung des Terminus-kultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 (with which I do not wholly agree: *supra* p. 441), Louise A. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 553 n. 1, and Agnes Kirsopp Lake 'Lapis Capitolinus' in *Class. Philol.* 1936 xxxi. 72 f. (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 219).

i. 53 n. 1 *Grabphall.* Adf. F. Schachermeyr in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1916 xli. 377 (Lydia, Karia, Phrygia?), E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 825^b (Scandinavia), G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 396 (Lydia, raising a series of interesting philological possibilities), H. Shtetelg—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 247 f. (Scandinavia), A. T. Curle in *Antiquity* 1937 vi. 352 ff. pls. 5—8 (British Somaliland, cp. Galla provinces of southern Ethiopia).

i. 60 with fig. 36. A complete publication of this important sarcophagus is now available, F. Gerke *Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus* Berlin 1936 pp. 1—37 with 32 plates.

i. 65. S. Luria 'Asteropos' in the *Berl. Philol. Week.* Juni 19, 1926 p. 701 f. makes Asteropos the ephor (Plout. *v. Klom.* 10) no proper name but an old religious epithet of the ephor as such (cp. Plout. *v. Aquil.* 11 *ἑφοροι πρὸς ὀργάνων ἀποβλέποντες*). V. Ehrenberg 'Asteropos' *ib.* Jan. 1, 1927 p. 27 ff. rightly demurs.

i. 66 n. 5. See further J. van der Vliet 'Quo discrimine dei et homines inter se digno-cantur' in *Mnemosyne* 1901 xxix. 207 f. and S. A. Naber 'Deorum coronae' *ib.* 1901 xxix. 304—306.

i. 67 n. 3. W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 172 doubts my explanation of Plutarch's human *ἑλαφοί*. But such usages are very ancient and wide-spread. Engraved and painted on the rock-wall of a cave at Les Trois-Frères near S. Girons (Ariège) is a male figure of the middle Magdalenian period. He has human hands and feet, and a full beard, but hairy animal ears, stag's antlers, and an equine tail (H. Obermaier *Fossil Man in Spain* Yale Univ. Press 1924 p. 233 fig. 103, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte des baltischen Kunst in Europa* Wien 1925 p. 668 ff. fig. 1, R. de Saint-Périer *L'Art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 57 pl. 49, 6).

Stag-mummers in south Gaul *c.* 700 A.D. are attested by Caesarius of Arles and Eligius of Noyon. Caesarius *serm.* 130. 1 says: 'Quid enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam mulieris turpi habitu commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformare faciem et vultus induere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescent? quid tam demens, quam in compositis motibus et impudicis carminibus vittorum laudes inverecun- la delectatione cantare, indui ferino habitu et capreae aut cervo similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem factus sacrificium (daemonum fiat?)' (xxxix. 2003 Migne), *id. ib.* 130. 2: 'Quicumque ergo in Calendis Januariis quibuscumque miseris hominibus sacrilego ritu insanientibus potius quam ludentibus aliquam humanitatem dederint, non hominibus sed daemonibus se dedisse cognoscant. Et ideo si in peccatis eorum participes esse non vultis, cervulum sive amculam (so E. Maass for *amculam, anulas, agniculam* codd.) aut aliqua quaehbet portenta ante domos vestras venire non permittatis.' (xxxix. 2004 Migne). Eligius *de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* 5 follows suit: 'Nullus in Calendis Januarii nefanda et ridiculo-a, vetulas aut cervulos aut <canes vena> ticos (so I would read for *jotticos, jotticos, jotticos* codd.), faciat, . . .' (xl. 1172 Migne). E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. vest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 108 ff. infers that at Arelate on the first of January three mummers represented an old woman, a stag, and a hound—in short, the masque of Aktaion, whose story as portrayed by Polygnotos at Delphi involved precisely these three figures (Paus. 10. 30. 5). J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 260 f.

more wisely postulates a native origin for the custom. And R. D. Barnett in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 393 f. does good service by collecting allusions to it and by noting that a last trace of it is 'the running of the deer' in the carol *The Holly and the Ivy*. A. Nicoll *Masks, Mimes and Miracles* London 1931 p. 165 fig. 115 shows a performance of such masked dancers (stag, hare, fox, old woman, etc.) from a fourteenth-century miniature in the Bodleian MS. 264 of *Li Romans d'Alexandre*.

J. G. McKay 'The Deer-Cult and the Deer-Goddess Cult of the Ancient Caledonians' in *Folk-Lore* 1932 xliii. 144—174 breaks fresh ground and raises a whole crop of important contentions (succinctly stated on pp. 167—169).

My own interpretation of the 'island stones' as representing masked dancers (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. 'The Cult of the Stag') was accepted by Sir W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1931 ii. 484—487 and has of late been vigorously defended by E. Herkenrath 'Mykenische Kultszenen. II. Masken' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 420—422. J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 150 f. publishes two statuettes of votaries in Assyrian style, to be dated c. 700—650 B.C.: no. 1029 wears a bull's head as a mask; no. 1030 wears a stag's head, which he is on the point of removing. Cp. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 487 f. no. 688 a limestone slab with the barbaric relief of a [κίνο]κέφαλος or [λυκο]κέφαλος on one side, that of a bear-headed man on the other.

i. 68 n. 1. The Hesychasts of Mt Athos in the fourteenth century held that divine light shone about the summit of Mt Tabor (S. V. Troitsky in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 427^b).

i. 70. C. T. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 165 pl. 35, 8 shows that *Chari-* and *Olym-* must be the names of magistrates, not engravers.

i. 70 ff. On the human sacrifice to Zeus *Lykaos* see now F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 20—25 ('Der "Wolfgott" hatte anfangs mit dem hellenischen Zeus nichts zu tun; später erst wurde Lykaos ein Beiname des Zeus; es war der—allerdings wohl noch spätere—Ausdruck dieser Vermischung, wenn der "wolfische Zeus" das Symbol des Adlers mit übernahm. Der Priester, der sich im Kindesopfer mit dem Gott selbst vereinigt hatte, war selbst wie der Gott ein "Wolf"'), O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 15, 187 (follows Schwenn), Lily Weiser-Aall in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 224 ('Lykaos bedeutet: der Wolfische; die Ähnlichkeit mit der Erzählung der Volsungasaga [Kap. 8] fällt auf').

i. 81 n. 0. Add J. A. MacCulloch 'Lycanthropy' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 206^a—220^a, M. Schuster 'Der Werwolf und die Hexen. Zwei Schauer-märchen bei Petromus' [*Petron. sat.* 61. 5—62. 14 and 63. 1—64. 1] in *Wiener Studien* 1930 xlviii. 149—178. W. Kroll 'Etwas vom Werwolf' *ib.* 1937 lv. 168—172.

i. 87 n. 6. The origin of the sceptre is discussed by C. F. Hermann *Disputatio de sceptri regii antiquitate et origine* Göttingae 1851 pp. 1—17, and more recently by A. Hug in Pauly-Wisowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 368 ff., C. Borchling in F. Saxl *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 235 ff., F. J. M. de Waele *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity* The Hague 1927 p. 117 ff.

i. 100. *Olympos*, a pre-Greek word for 'mountain' (C. Theander in *Eranos* 1915 xv. 127—136, M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 269). R. J. H. Jenkins in a valuable, but unpublished, dissertation on *The Religions and Cults of Olympia during the Bronze Age* Cambridge 1932 p. 71 n. 4 (MS.) conjectures that 'Ὀλυμπος was 'the Early Anatolian for "Mountain," and that at Olympia it was Early Helladic or Early Macedonian (two branches, south and north, of the same race).

i. 102 n. 4. D. M. Robinson in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1934 lxx. 103 ff. publishes an inscription, of 356 B.C., recording a treaty between Philip of Macedonia and the Chalcidians. This was to be set up by Philip (line 9) [ἐ]ν Δία ἐς [τὸ] ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τ[οῦ] Ὀλυμπίου, κ.τ.λ. *Id. ib.* p. 117 n. 26 speaks of the excavations at Dion.

i. 102 n. 5. Mt Carmel affords a good parallel to Mt Argaios (Tac. *hist.* 2. 78 est Iudaeam inter Syrtamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. nec simulacrum deo aut templum—sic tradidere maiores—: ara tantum et reverentia). In Mexico and Peru the most prominent peaks were likewise objects of direct worship (E. J. Payne *History of the New World called America* Oxford 1892 i. 404).

i. 107. Professor G. Murray kindly pointed out to me that *Anaktotelēstai* should be rendered 'initiators,' not 'initiates.' Cp. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 202 on the analogous *Orpheotelēstai*.

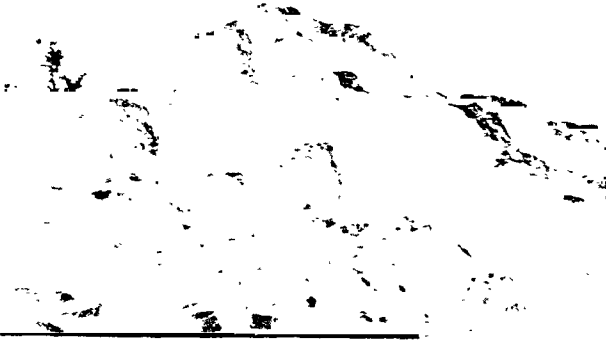


Fig. 858.

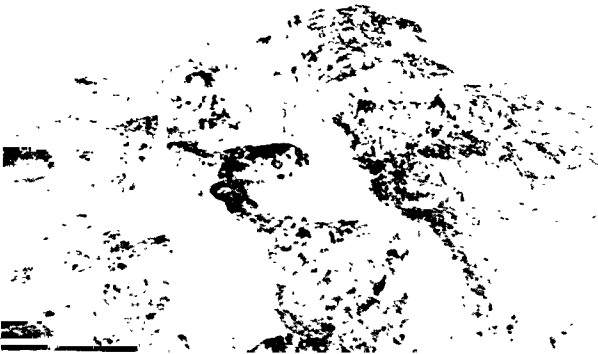


Fig. 859.

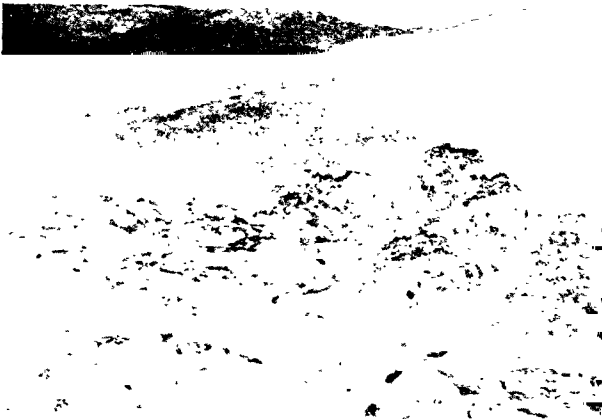


Fig. 860.

i. 107 n. 2. On the Korybantes see further J. Poerner 'De Curetibus et Corybantibus' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* 1913 xxii. 245—428.

i. 109. On Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos consult also Margaret C. Waites 'The Deities of the Sacred Axe' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1923 xxvii. 25—56, E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 225 f., F. W. Schelling *Samothrake und Kabirische Mysterien* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 1—45 ('Über die Gottheiten von Samothrake').

i. 129 n. 2. On the relief signed by Archelaos see further J. Sieveking 'Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene' in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 74—89, G. Lippold 'Musengruppen' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 77—80, M. Schede 'Zu Philiskos, Archelaos und den Musen' *ib.* 1920 xxxv. 65—82 pl. 1, G. W. Elderkin 'The Deification of Homer by Archelaos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 496—500 fig. 1.

i. 131. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 403 f. no. 19 a base from Thespiæ formerly supporting three statuettes and inscribed Ζεύς Μνημοσύνη Ἀπόλλων.

i. 132. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 48 f. argues that Archelaos was representing the *omphalos* of Branchidai and the Thessalian or the Mysian Olympus.

i. 134 ff. A rock-cut throne on a mountain near Temenothyrai in Lydia was taken to be that of Geryon son of Chrysaor (Paus. 1. 35. 7).

W. K. C. Guthrie in 1932 discovered, just outside a village called *Selki*, on *Findos Tefe* at the western edge of the Konia plain, a double rock-cut throne with footstools (figs. 858, 859). Close by were two narrow rock-cut troughs, 'like couches in shape' (fig. 860). I am indebted to Mr Guthrie for the photographs here given of the thrones as seen from below and above, and of the 'couches.'

H. Lattermann and F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1915 xl. 75 ff. fig. 3 and pl. 13. 2 record a rock-throne near the village of *Κίονια* (Stymphalos). They suggest that this throne, which is cut in conglomerate over an empty grave (?) chamber, is to be connected with the local cult of Hera *Χήρα* (Paus. 8. 22. 2), implying a dead Zeus as in Crete.

i. 150. The sword-dance of the Kouretes and Korybantes round the infant Zeus is discussed by L. von Schröder *Mysterium und Mimus im Korymbos* Leipzig 1908 p. 118, F. Kidson—M. Neal *English Folk-songs and Dance* Cambridge 1915 p. 146 f. See, however, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 38: 'Es ist doch ungleich wahrscheinlicher, dass die göttlichen Kureten und Korybanten mythische Gegenbilder zu irdischen Tänzern sind, als dass diese den Gottertanz nachahmten, wie Schröder (113 ff.) glaubt.'

i. 152. On the cult of Zeus at Synnada see also W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 14 no. 49 pl. 19 = my fig. 861 (white marble stele of local style, c. 200 B.C., showing Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in right hand and round object in left, votary with round object in right hand, bag or basket on left arm, and two eagles in pediment).

i. 152 fig. 125. A coin of Akmonia with similar type is published by E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* in Série 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4. 4.

i. 153 fig. 129. An interesting variant of this coin is given by C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 452 with fig. 11.

i. 155 n. 8. Add B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 105 no. 1793 col. ix, 1 f. οὐκ ἐρί γυνῶν | παῖδας ἐν Ἠραϊῶ στήθεσιν Ἐδουρόμης (sc. the Charites, cp. Paus. 2. 17. 4).

i. 157 n. 3. My friend and former pupil Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury writes to me: 'The following is the story I heard in June 1935 from an old friend Kosta Kounales of Anogeia, who really does know his mountains *παροχιά παροχιά* as they say. It was à propos of a small heap of stones by the Church of Holy Cross on the Nidha Plain, called locally *στοῦ Στραυροῦ τῶν Τροχάλων*. "They say that in Venetian times there was a prince Erotokritos who was out hunting wild boar, and one day his foot slipped as he was about to spear the boar, and his friends shot quickly with their bows to help him, but they shot him instead and they buried him here." In view of what A. Papadakes reports concerning the tomb of Zeus at Anogeia (*supra* i. 163), it seems fairly certain that we have here a local modification of the belief that Zeus was a Cretan prince killed by a wild boar and buried.'

i. 162 n. 1. Cp. Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 154 with fig. 113 b, 1928 ii. 1. 81 f. figs. 37 and 38.

i. 169. See further Olga Rojdestvensky *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* Paris 1922 pp. 1—72 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1922 ii. 357).

i. 181 n. o. On horse-sacrifice in antiquity see H. M. Hubbell in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 181—192.

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A bust of Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 ff.) in *lapis lazuli*, presented by Sir H. Howorth in 1912 to the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 368 no. 3939 fig. 94). Height 0·131^m. A socket worked in the top of the head implies the insertion of a *kálathos*.

The technique points to a date *c.* 300 A.D.

i. 187. Cp. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 36 no. 113 (a) an altar at Kara Adili, adorned with reliefs of eagle (front), ox-head (left side), etc. and inscribed in lettering of s. II or III A.D. [Καρπ]ο[φ][ί][όρ]ος μ[ί]σθ[ος] θωρήσ[η]ς Ἡ[λ]ί[ω]ς και Δι[ὸ]ς ἐν χ[ρ]ῆν.

i. 187 n. 4. See now E. Peterson EIS ΘΕΟΣ Gottingen 1926 pp. 139, 241, 306.

i. 192. In Bekker *anecd.* i. 338, 26 Ἄγος· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κυζικηνόισι the *ordo verborum* demands Ἄγρος. F. W. Hasluck *Cyprus* Cambridge 1910 p. 223 held that the epithet 'referred to an Avenger of Blood.'



Fig. 861.

i. 193 n. 3. W. M. Calder in the *Class. Rev.* 1910 xxiv. 77 ff. no. 2 (*id. ib.* 1924 xxxviii. 29 n. 1) published the inscription, of c. 260—270 A.D. (*not* of s. i), on an oblong pillar built into a house-wall at *Baluk-Lauu* and derived from a temple of Zeus at or near Sedasa (*Ak-Kilisse*), where Zeus was identified with the sun-god and presented with a sun-dial: Τοῦτος Μ[α]κρ[ί]νος ὁ | και Ἀθάσκαν[τος] και Βάρασις Βρετασιδος Ἐρωήν Μέγιστον | κατὰ εἰχ[ρ]ῆν | ἐπισκευάσαντες συν ἑρολογῆω ἐκ τῶ[ν] | ἰδίων (ἀν)αλωμάτων ἀνέστ[η]σαν Διὶ Ἡ[λ]ί[ω]. Since Sedasa lay some twenty-five miles south-west of Lystra, this association of Zeus and Hermes is rightly held to illustrate Acts 14. 12. Moreover, in 1926, at *Karak* near Lystra, W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder found an altar dedicated 'to the Epēkoos and to . . . and to Hermes' (*Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 114) and saw a bronze statuette of Hermes with a *caduceus* resting on his left shoulder and an eagle beside his right foot (*The Manchester Guardian* for Jan. 19, 1926, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 281)—further proof of the same association.

i. 195. Another cult-epithet of Zeus that may be of solar significance is Hesych. Φύτιος· ἥλιος. ἢ Ζεὺς.

i. 196 n. 9. Mr A. S. F. Gow in a letter dated 1 July, 1917, drew my attention to Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 11, 20 Lang πάντ' ἐφορᾷ Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς και πάντ' ἐπακούει.

i. 198 on the sun conceived as a wheel. Aetios *fiac.* 2. 20. 1 (p. 348, 3 ff. Diels) 'Αναξιμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) ὀκτωκαιεκοσάπλασιονα τῆς γῆς, ἀρματεῖω τροχῷ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρός, κ.τ.λ., Achilles Tatios *isag.* 19 (p. 46, 20 ff. Maass) τινές δέ, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ 'Αναξιμανδρος, φασὶ πέμπειν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) τὸ φῶς σχῆμα ἔχοντα τροχῷ· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τροχῷ κοίλη ἐστὶν ἡ πλήμνη, ἔχει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατεταμέναις τὰς κνημίδας πρὸς τὴν ἐξωθεν τῆς ἀψίδος περιφορὰν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ κοίλου τὸ φῶς ἐκπέμποντα τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῶν ἀκτίνων ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐξωθεν αὐτὰς κύκλω ροτίζειν. κ.τ.λ., Ennius *frag.* 335 Bahrens *ap.* Isid. *orig.* 18. 36. 3 inde patefecit radii: rota candida caelum, Apul. *met.* 9. 28 cum primum rota solis lucida diem peperit.

i. 198. E. H. Sturtevant 'Centaur and Macedonian Kings' in *Class. Philol.* 1926 xxi. 235—249 takes Κένταυρος (κεντ- αυρο-) to be a Thracian term for Φίλιππος.

i. 199 ff. on representations of Ixion. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for photographs of an unpublished *amphora* in the Museo Campano di Capua (pl. lxxv), which shows the hero on his fiery wheel.

Dimitar P. Dimitrov in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii Arch. Anz. pp. 69—75 compares the British Museum mirror (*supra* i. 204 pl. xvii) with a Roman relief of Ixion and Tantalos in the Museum of Stara-Zagora, Bulgaria, and with an Attic red-figured sherd from the Forum Romanum (*ib.* figs. 1—3).

R. von Schneider in the *Senta Harteliana* Wien 1896 p. 281 f. with fig. (after the *Bullettino di arti e curiosità veneziane* 1895 iv. 39 f. fig.) notes a relief of c. 1100 A.D., found between the Duomo and the Baptistery at Torcello near Venice, in which Ixion appears stretched, face outwards, round the external circumference of a wheel. To right and left of him stand two women, in long girdled attire, one with her torch raised, the other with her torch lowered.

i. 211 on the religious origin of punishments. Cp. F. Kunze 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar' in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1900 xiii. 130 f. ('to kiss the rod' implies its sanctity).

i. 225 n. 4 Dryas. Another parallel is the myth of *Idas* ('Woodman'?) as told by schol. B.D. II. 9. 557.

Sphairos occurs as a magistrate's name on a bronze coin of Rhodes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 261 pl. 41, 4). F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 p. 605 notes Σφαῖρος Λάκων as an Olympic victor of 640 B.C. (Euseb. *Chron.* 1 (i. 198, 30 Schoene)).

i. 231 n. 8. P. Couissin deals with 'casques a rouelle' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 ii. 77 ff.

i. 232. Professor S. A. Cook informs me (Oct. 1, 1929) that he regards the lettering of the Gaza coin as Aramaic rather than Phoenician, on account of the *H. Id. The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 147 n. 1 'The lettering resembles that on the papyri of Elephantine and is rather more archaic than the jar-handles of Jericho: it is Aramaic rather than Phoenician (note the form of the *h*).' cp. *ib.* p. 186.

E. L. Sukekik in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1934 xiv. 178 ff. pl. 2 and fig. 1 cites a fourth-century silver coin, of the same Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-Arabian series, now at Jerusalem in the collection of M. Salzberger, which reads, not *Yhd*, but *Yhd*—that is *Yehūd* 'Judah.' He and others following his lead (e.g. W. F. Albright in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 1934 lii. 20—22, R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1935 xvi. 211 f., D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 451) conclude that *Yhd* must be the true reading of the coin in the British Museum. But Professor S. A. Cook in a further letter to me (Oct. 23, 1935) asks very pertinently 'Is it natural to put a mere place-name on a coin, like "Judah"?' Any Greek numismatist would answer 'No.'

In this connexion note also the seal of 'Elishama son of Gedaliah' published by G. Dalman in the *Palaestina-Jahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 1906 ii. 44 ff. (S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* p. 34 f. pl. 9, 1, A. T. Olmstead *History of Palestine and Syria* New York—London 1931 p. 528 with fig. 177). The seal shows Jehovah as a bearded god in long robe and high crown, apparently brandishing a thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat, which at stem and stern ends in a bird's head.

i. 238 ff. On Kirke's gloriole see S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 22 f. The alleged Persian *lab* is perhaps derived from the ἐτυμολογία τοῦ ἀλφειῶντου in the *et. Gud.* p. 598 λάμβδα ..παρὰ τὸ λάβ· λάβ δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς χάσμα λέγεται,





a



b

Amphora in the Museo Campano di Capua :
Ixion on his fiery wheel.

See page 1072.



cp. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1341 Δάβ τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ, and see further F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 30 f.

P. Wolters 'Kirke' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 209—236 pls. 14 and 15 discusses a Boeotian *skýphos* at Nauplia, which represents Kirke as magician, Odysseus, and three of his sailors transformed into swine.

E. Schwyzer in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1920 xxxviii. 158 f. takes Δαίη (*vñros*) to be for δαίη=αδαίη, 'die Invel der Morgenrote.' But R. B. Onians in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for Nov. 30. 1926 p. 454 derives Δαίη and Αἰήτης from Δα=Αἰ, the Hebrew or Phoenician word for 'sparrow-hawk, falcon.' See further V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee* Paris 1902 i. 214, 1903 ii. 261 ff. An altar at Ptolemais (Menshijeh) dedicated to Ἀρδάκρει καὶ Ἰέρακι θε[ῶν] | κ.τ.λ. (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 52) implies that Iloros was conceived as a sparrow-hawk (O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 636 f.). The hawk is also an attribute of Apollon (*supra* i. 626 n. o: add J. D. Beazley *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 41 f. no. 47 pl. 3).

E. Reiss 'Studies in Superstition and Folklore vii. Homer' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1925 xlii. 222 ff. discusses the magic circle (pp. 222—224) and Kirke as a witch (p. 227 f.).

i. 247 n. 2. See now A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1915 ii. 45 f. no. 1699 pl. 81, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 179 fig. 1.

i. 255 f. Cp. A. S. F. Gow 'ITΞ, POMBOΣ, rhombus, turbo' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with 11 figs.

i. 259 n. o. The fragment of Pindar has now turned up on a papyrus of s. i. A. D. (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 84 ff. no. 1791 pl. 3). It confirms the conjecture of Schneidewin. See also D. S. Robertson in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 218.

i. 262 *lynges* of gold. G. Karo 'Schatz von Tiryns' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 127 f., 138 f., pls. 30 A and 31, publishes a pair of wheels made in gold wire with four spokes of bronze covered with amber beads, and portions of a second similar pair of wheels, dating apparently from late Mycenaean times. Karo *ib.* p. 128 compares the 'ear-phones' of the Lady of Elche, and *ib.* p. 139 conjectures a northern origin for the head-gear. Is it possible, however, that the wheels were solar *lynges*?

i. 269 ff. on the wheel of Nemesis. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 296—321 with figs. 1—4 has an important collection of texts and monuments: *id. ib.* p. 310 n. 2 discusses the association of Nemesis with Helios and the solar symbolism of her wheel. B. Schwetzer 'Dea Nemesis Regina' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii. 175—246 pl. 1 f. and figs. 1—21 publishes an interesting relief at Brindisi, in which Nemesis confronts us standing on a naked human figure (summary by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 533) H. Herter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2338—2380 devotes a long and painstaking article to the goddess, accepting many of my results, but demurring to some.

i. 270 n. 5. But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 183 no. 1696 points out that the supposed ear is merely a wheel at her feet plus a fracture of the stone!

i. 271 on the wheel of Fortuna. D. M. Robinson 'The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 501 ff. describes and illustrates Hellenic pebble-mosaics from the two rooms in the north-east corner (fig. 1) showing a four-spoked wheel with quadruple rim and a smaller four-spoked wheel with double rim—the whole accompanied by the inscription ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ (fig. 2. b), also a double axe, *sevastika*, hand(?), etc. disposed round a Macedonian square, which is lettered ΑΦΡ'ΟΔΙ ΤΗΚ'ΑΛΗ and accompanied by a second inscription ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΛΗ (fig. 2. a). *Id. ib.* p. 505 n. 1 collects literary allusions from Pind. *Ol.* 2. 23 f. and Soph. *frag.* 787 Nauck³=871 Jebb *ap. Plout. v. Demetr.* 45 (cp. *frag.* 575 Jebb) onwards, adding that the wheel of Fortune appears here for the first time in art.

i. 273. For A. C. Orlandos' investigation of the site at Rhamnous see his 'Note sur le sanctuaire de Némésis à Rhamonte' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 305—320 with figs. 1—11 and pls. 8—12 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 109 f.). Further study of the site by W. Zschietzschmann in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlii Arch. Anz. pp. 441—451 figs. 1—4.

i. 273 on the relation of *Némésis* to *Nemetona* etc. J. Coman *L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle* Paris 1931 p. 21 f. states and criticises the theory here advanced. He accepts the first part of it, but objects to my suggestion (i. 285) of a confusion between *Némésis* goddess 'of the Greenwood' and *véméris* 'righteous wrath!'. On p. 22 n. 2

Coman, following Boisacq, tries to find a possible link. F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2385 f. inclines to my view of *Nemetona* as akin to *Nemesis*.

i. 276 n. 5. On *ὑπερέχειν χεῖρα* or *χεῖρας*, Hyperdexios, Hypercheirios, etc. see J. G. Leroux in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 260 f.

i. 283 n. o. See further H. Mager *Water Diviners and their Methods* trans. A. H. Bell London 1931.

i. 285. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 81 ff. no. 286 fig. 125 publishes a plaquette (antefix?) of black terra cotta dug up at *Πλωδῖν* (Philippopolis). On it is a relief representing a horned head (Tyche? Nemesis? Men??) surmounted by a wheel with eight projecting spokes.

i. 288 f. the Celtic god with a wheel. M. Prou in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1915 pp. 100—104 with 2 figs. publishes a terra-cotta statuette of this god (Taranis?) found at Nérès (Allier). His head and the lower parts of his legs are missing. His right hand, which is slightly flexed, holds a wheel against his side. His left hand rests on the head of a small figure with uplited arms.

i. 292 n. 2. The second disk from Corinth is now included in De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 44 no. 1694 pl. 76 ('Oracle d'amour(?)'). A third from Corinth is in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 161 no. 878 ('Child's Toy'). Another, of somewhat simpler type, from a tomb at Vulci, is figured by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1561 fig. 2064 ('Creptaculum, Creptacillum').

i. 292 n. 8. Strictly comparable with the great terra-cotta disk from Olympia are the fragments of two *akrotéria*, in terra cotta, from the older temple at Phigaleia (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Arch. Eph.* 1933 p. 1 ff. col. pl. 2 and pl. 3). See further C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brunn, Prag, Leipzig, Wien 1929 pp. 1—56 with 4 pls. and 12 figs. (reviewed by E. Douglas Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 520 f., by C. Picard in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1930 pp. 177—179, by S. Casson] in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133).

i. 297 n. 2. See now L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean Plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 173—205 with 11 figs. Examples could be multiplied—an ivory seal from *Perachora* (H. G. G. Payne in *The Illustrated London News* for July 8, 1933 p. 66 fig. 10), a Thasian *phthos* of s. vii B.C. (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 253 with fig. 14), etc.

i. 299 *Scírios* used of the sun. Cp. S. Ronzevalle 'Hchosenos' in *Archéuse* 1930 pp. 1—12 with 4 pls. and 5 figs. (an important article).

i. 299 ff. the Lycian Symbol. Cp. Anna Roes *Greek Geometri. Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 29 ff. figs. 21—23.

i. 303 the *Kyklopes* as builders. So B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* London 1919 xiii. 33 no. 1604 Pind. *dith.* 1. 6 f. [Κυκλωπων πρόδ' αὖ ἀρ[ά οἱ] | [] ἢ ἐν Ἀργεῖ μετ' ἄλλω. . . See further S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2329 f., 2342.

i. 305 n. 9 G. F. Hill on the Sicilian *triskelès*. But C. T. Seltman in his *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 190 shows that the *triskelès* as symbol of Sicily occurs first on coins of Dionysios I struck shortly before 383 B.C., then on those of Timoleon, and thirdly on those of Agathokles.

i. 307. H. Mattingly in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 9 publishes as 'probably unique' an *as* with *rev.* SICILIA S.C. and a large Gorgon's head in a *triskelès*.

See also J. Newton 'The armorial bearings of the Isle of Man; their origin, history and meaning' in the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* xxxix. 205—226.

i. 309 figs. 247 and 248. N. E. Henry 'Classic Sicily' in *Art and Archaeology* 1916 iii. 147 figures an 'Ancient Mosaic Symbol representing Three-Cornered Sicily'—much like the coins of Ebora Cerialis.

i. 309 on solar legs. P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 35 n. 5: 'En Haute-Bretagne, on dit que le soleil a des jambes [ou des *tirants*] quand il y a en dessous des rayons qui semblent toucher la terre' (*id.* in his *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne* Paris 1882 ii. 363).

i. 312 fig. 249. A photograph of this wall-painting is given by F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei* Halle (Saale) 1921 p. 28 pl. 65.

C. C. van Essen 'De Cyclope et Cuclu' in *Mnemosyne* 1930 lviii. 302—308 advances some venturesome views. Basing on Eva Fiesel *Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* Ergänzungsheft v) Gottingen 1928 pp. 35 and 48—56, he argues that pre-Indo-European peoples of the period

Helladic I knew a god of death, **Cuclup* (Etruscan *Cuclu*), dwelling in a cave. Into this cave a sea-faring hero **Uthisse* descends with followers, some of whom he is forced to leave behind. Early in the second millennium B.C. Indo-Europeans arrive with a story involving the 'No-man' stratagem (*supra* ii. 989). Hence in the Mycenaean age **Uthisse* develops into both *Οὔτις* and **Οδυσσεύς* (*ὀδύσσεισθαί*), while **Cuclup* becomes *Κύκλωψ*, and in the *Odyssey* the original *κατάβασις* is attached to other adventures of Odysseus. Summary in the *Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 213.

i. 326. On the fire-boards of the Chuckchees see also Miss W. S. Blackman in *Folk-Lore* 1916 xxvii. 361 f.

i. 327. L. Siret 'Prométhée' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 132—135 with 2 figs. attempts to show that the myth of Prometheus' offence and punishment is but an animistic interpretation of the fire-drill, the wood anthropomorphized into the hero, the bow zoomorphized into his eagle.

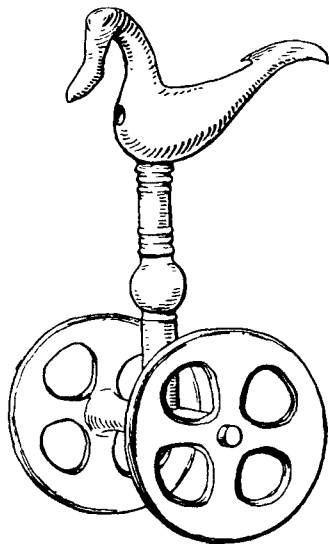


Fig. 862.

Cp. G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 64 *Vafþrúdnismál* 22 'Mundilfori (Fire-auger) was the father of the Moon and also of the Sun' with note *ib.* ii. 468 'the Fire-Auger, the holy Drill by which some Teutonic Prometheus first woke the elemental flame.'

i. 328. Odysseus akin to Prometheus the fire-god(?). J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun-God' in *Class. Philol.* 1917 xii. 244—252 justly ridicules the contentions of J. Meinel *Der Urmythos der Odyssee und seine dichterische Erneuerung, Des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt* München—Lindau 1910.

i. 330 n. 1. Eumath. 6. 14 *τοῦτο φῆς τὸν ἀέτον* (*supra* ii. 1141) *ὑπανίττεσθαι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς προμηθείας* plays on the connexion of Zeus with Prometheus, cp. 6. 15 *τῷ γὰρ τοῦ Ἐπιμηθεὶ τὸ μεταμέλειν ἀνοφελῶς ἀφωσίωται. κ.τ.λ.*, but lends no support to the assumption of a Zeus Προμηθεύς.

i. 333. In the *Rigveda* 10. 89. 4 heaven and earth are compared with the wheels at the two ends of an axle (A. A. Macdonnell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 9).

A bronze amulet of the Geometric Period (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 36 ff. pl. 13), said to have come from 'Phar-alos,' but more probably from Pherai (*Vikistino*), and now in my possession, shows a duck on a shaft which rises from the axle connecting two wheels (fig. 862: scale $\frac{1}{2}$). Since the duck is pierced for suspension, it is perhaps to be regarded as perched on a celestial chariot.

i. 333 ff. the solar chariot. L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 162 ff. deals with the cult of the horse among the Greeks and discusses the solar chariot.

Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 22 f. fig. 13 (after A. Minto *Marsiliana d'Albegna* Firenze 1921 p. 291 fig. 30 pl. 52 = F. von Duhn in *Ebert Reallex.* viii. 53 pl. 11, b) cites a horse with a four-spoked wheel apparently resting on its back—a *motif* impressed on a *bucchero*-jar from Marsiliana.

Cp. the combination of horse with wheel below it, which occurs frequently on Gaulish imitations of the gold coins issued by Philip of Macedon.

i. 334 fig. 265. With this *pointillé* design of horse + disk + bird-like man (?) cp. the *pointillé* design of horse + wheel + bird + man on the bronze double axe mentioned *supra* p. 605 n. 3 and figured *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff.

i. 334 n. 2 the Trundholm chariot. See now J. Brøndsted 'Pferd und Sonnenscheibe auf dänischen jungbronzezeitlichen Rasiermessern' in *Acta Archaeologica* 1931 ii. 199 ff., J. Bing *Der Sonnenwagen von Trundholm* Leipzig 1934 pp. 1—46 with 47 figs. and 7 pls.

i. 336 n. o. See further W. Deonna 'À propos d'une pendeloque archaïque de Tégée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 229—239 figs. 1—5.

i. 338 n. 1 Zeus conceived as driving a chariot. Mr C. T. Seltman notes *Il.* 8. 41—50.

i. 339. Cp. R. U. Sayce 'A May Day Garland from St Neots' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1932 xxxii. 57 f. with pl. 1.

i. 341. D. M. Robins in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 594 reports that at Tanis (Auaris) in 1934 P. Montet and P. Bucher unearthed a granite group of a falcon with a child Pharaoh crouched at its feet. The base was inscribed: 'The good god, son of the sun, beloved of Hurun of Ramses' (i.e. of Pi-Ramses, the Deltaic capital of Ramses ii). It is argued that *Hurun* was the falcon-god of the Horites of Mt Seit, who had gained a place for himself in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.

i. 345 the Leucadian 'leap.' See further S. Eitrem 'Der Leukas-Sprung und andere rituelle 'Sprünge' in ΔΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ 1923 vii. 127—136, E. Strong—N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 103—111 ('Apotheosis by Water'), K. Kerényi 'Der Sprung vom Leukasfelsen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiv. 61—72. *Supra* p. 136 n. 3.

i. 348 Zeus *Ammon*. O. Eissfeldt 'Zeus Ammon' in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 1936 xii. 407 f. ('Der Gott der Oase ist also—von einer vielleicht noch älteren heimischen Vorgeschichte abgesehen—von Haus aus der phönizische Baal Hammon, der erst sekundär, vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ab, mit dem ägyptischen Ammon verschmolzen worden ist').

i. 349 fig. 271. The Naples bust of Zeus *Ammon* is now well published by O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 51 ff. no. 37 pl. 20.

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 337—341 with figs. 4—6 describes a seated cult-statue of Zeus *Ammon* found at *el Qés* near *Behnessa* (Oxyrynchos). The statue, of which head and torso are extant (1.20^m high), was made in several pieces of marble and showed the god, in *chiton* and *himation*, enthroned with right arm raised and left lowered—Roman work much influenced by the type of Sarapis.

A terra-cotta antefix (6 inches high), formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 420 no. D 697), has the horns coloured red (my pl. lxxvi is from an unpublished photograph).

i. 350 f. Our earliest reference to the *Ammonéion* occurs in a fragment of Hes. *γυναϊκῶν κατάλογος* (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrynchus Papyri* London 1915 xi. 44 ff. no. 1358 *frag.* 2 col. i, H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 69, *id.* in an Appendix to his Hesiod in the Loeb Classical Library p. 632 ff. *frag.* 40 A, 10 ff. [φύλα τ' ἀπέκρεσίων Μελανοχρότων Λιβύων τε][τοῦς Ἐπάφω] τέκε Γαῖα πελώρη χρησιμολόγους τε] [μαντοσύν]α[s τε πανομφαί]σ[υ Διὸς εἰδότας αἴση]. [ψεύστας δ', ὄφρα θεοῖσιν ὑφέ[ιμ]-ενοι ἀτασ[θῶσ]ιν | [ἀνθρώποι.] τῶν μὲν τε νβος [γλ]ωσσῆς καθ[ύπ]ερθεν.

i. 352 n. o. A. H. Krappé 'The Karneia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 380—384 treats Karnos as a ram-shaped deity of the grape-vine akin to Dionysos.

i. 352 Lysandros and *Ammon*. Cp. *Iamb. de myst.* 3. 3 p. 108, 13 ff. Parthey.

i. 353 Alexander the Great and Zeus *Ammon*. Recent discussions of this topic include E. Vassel 'Le bélier de Baal-Hammon' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 79—107, G. Radet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1925 pp. 201—208, D. Cohen 'De Alexandro Magno Ammonis oraculum consultante' in *Mnemosyne* 1926 liv. 83—86, V. Ehrenberg *Alexander in Agypten* (*Der Alte Orient* Beiheft vii) Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—58, H. Berve *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* München 1926 i. 1—357, ii. 1—446 ('Kultus und Religion'), U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1928 pp. 576—603, H. Berve in *Giorn.* 1929 v. 370 ff.,



Antefixal ornament from Italy, now in the British Museum :
Head of Zeus *Ammon*.

See Pl. 1076.

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G. Pasquali 'Alessandro all' oasi di Ammone e Callistene' in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1929 lvii. 513—521, U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug zum Ammon. Ein Epilog' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1930 pp. 159—176, R. Vallois 'L'oracle libyen et Alexandre' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1931 xlv. 121—152, J. A. O. Larsen 'Alexander at the Oracle of Ammon' in *Class. Philol.* 1932 xxvii. 70—75, cp. *id. ib.* p. 274 f., G. Radet 'La consultation de l'oracle d'Ammon par Alexandre' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 779—792 (summary by H. I. B[ell] in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1935 lv. 110).

i. 355. G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1908 ix. 64—69, followed by Oria Bates *The Eastern Libyans* London 1914 pp. 189—195 (J. E. Harrison in *The Spectator* Feb. 27, 1915



Fig. 863.

p. 304), identifies the image of the Libyan god with an enthroned bundle representing a dead man in the sitting posture. They appeal to two bronze plaques from Memphis, three faience models from Karnak, and a relief of Roman date at Medinet Habu—of which evidence a different and, I think, less probable interpretation has been given by G. A. Wainwright (*supra* p. 882 n. 2).

For the sandstone *omphalos* from Napata see *supra* p. 882 n. 2 with fig. 719.

i. 360 n. 6. E. Bevan *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* London 1927 p. 10 explains the alleged guidance of the two snakes on rationalistic lines.

i. 361. On the identification of the Nile with Zeus see H. T. Deas in the *Cambridge University Reporter* Feb. 15, 1927 p. 758 (reading Pind. *Isthm.* 2. 42 *Νείλου πρὸς αἰγῶς*, cp. schol. vet. *ad loc.*) and in the *Class. Rev.* 1927 xli. 213 ('Thus the Alexandrians may have argued that the Nile is the same as Zeus, and that if Homer can say *Διὸς αἰγῶς*, Pindar can say *Νείλου αἰγῶς*'). *Supra* p. 348 f.

i. 362 f. P. Giles in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1916 p. 48 summarises A. Fick's identifications of the Mediterranean tribes invading Egypt. H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 275—283 devotes a section to them ('The Keftians and the Peoples of the Sea'). F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients* Munchen 1926 pp. 28 f., 986 is more concise. L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 59—92 includes a general survey of Aegaeon

pre-history. Further literature in A. Gotze *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 pp. 186—188 ('Die agaische Wanderung').

i. 365 f. the grove of *Ammon*. M. Schede in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1912 xxxvii. 212—215 fig. 10 publishes a votive relief of island marble (height 1'17^m), found in 1910 at *Tigani* in Samos. This represents, in the style of c. 1 B.C. (?), a half-length herm of Zeus *Ammon* with a long sceptre in his raised right hand, a palm-tree at his left side, a shield(?) slung above his head, and an altar before him, on which stands a ram, presumably the gift of the woman suppliant. She holds a sprig of olive in her left hand and raises her right in prayer to the god. My fig. 863 is after A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 114 fig.

i. 369 K. A. Neugebauer in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 268 regards the Berlin bronze statuette of 'Poseidon from Dodona' (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 172 pl. 63, c) as probably a Zeus *Náios* of late Hellenistic, eclectic, style.

i. 370 n. 4. The inscription may perhaps be read as ΛΙΥΙΑ for *Livia*, who by a play on Λιβία is linked with *Ammon*.

i. 373 Apollon *Karneios*. So F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Apollon Karneios auf kyrenaischen und anderen griechischen Münzen' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1917 xxi. 1—17 pl. 1, followed by Sir G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1918—1919 p. 18 f. ('convincing').

i. 376. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 141 pl. 78 (=my fig. 864) publishes a *phylax*-vase at Bari, which shows a visit to the oracle of Zeus *Ammon*. On a wooden platform supported by Ionic pillars sits Zeus, a dismal white-haired figure, characterized as *Ammon* by his ape-like features and the palm-tree at his side. He grips his eagle by the throttle, and turns to face his visitor—an old man with pointed *phalos* and knotted staff, who is mounting the steps to the platform. Meantime the traveller's servant, with a stick in one hand, a basket and a pail in the other, and a bundle on his back, looks longingly at the provender.

i. 379 n. 7. To the bibliography of Siwah add the well-illustrated monograph by C. D. Belgrave *Siwah: the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1923 pp. 1—310 and the remarks of S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 334 f. on the Libyan rock-cut inscriptions and the Greek inscription found there by M. de Protok.

i. 390. E. D. J. Dutilh in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 437—440 describes a small bronze coin, found in the oasis, with *obv.* a ram walking to the right, *rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left and a six-rayed star before it ('Nous concluons ainsi qu'il s'agit, probablement, d'une pièce frappée sous un des premiers Ptolémées à l'Oasis').

i. 395 *verreccus Iuppiter*. Cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel. no.* 4477 (at *Azi ben Tellis* in Numidia) d. b. s. (*dis bonis sacrum?*) | C. Aponius | Secundus sacerdos agnu domno, tauru domi no. ovicula Nutri ci, berbec Iovi, ovicu la Teluri, agnu Herc uli, agna Veneri, edu | Mercurio. | verbe. Testi monio . . . m. . . LXV (date?) (*instrumenta ad sacrificandum*), no. 4477^a (in the same place) d. b. s. | C. C. Primus. | sac. Saturni. ag nu tauro dom'no. ovicla Tel uri, berbec | Iovi, ovicla | [Nu]tuci, capone | [H]ercul, edu Merc[ur.], aedua Veneri, ber[bec] Testimonio | (*duo animalia*) [p]jecora | . . .

i. 395 n. 2. A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 45, accepting the etymology of *Indra* propounded by H. Guntert *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland Halle* (Saale) 1923 p. 13 f., views the name as 'dérivé d'une forme **indro*, apparentée au slave *jadro*, "testicule," tcheque *jadro*, "moelle," au pluriel "testicules," et dont la base commune est **oid*=tumescere. Comparer aussi *oidēw* et le v. nor. *eišta*, "testicule." Indra est donc l'homme fort, viril, comme en Scandinavie Thorr, qui était souvent appelé *Thorrkarl*' The sequel in Krappe is also *ad rem*. But other derivations of *Indra* are noted by Walde—Pokorny *Engl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 332, and a timely warning is sounded by Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 247^b.

i. 395 n. 3 Ἰππάρ. Better Ἰππάρ, as J. Keil 'Meter Hipta' showed in the *Wiener Eranos zur fünfzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Graz* 1909 Wien 1909 p. 102 f. (O. Kern on Orph. *frag.* 199).

i. 396 n. 1 on the snake as phallic. Cp. P. de Lancre *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Démones* Paris 1612 p. 224 'Que le membre du Diable s'il estoit estendu est long enuiron d'une aulne, mais il le tient entortillé & sinueux en forme de serpent.' See further E. Kuster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 149 ff. and M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) p. 126 ff. ('The Serpent as a Phallic Emblem').



Fig. 864.

i. 401 n. 7. Cp. Prob. in Verg. *coll.* 1 prooem. (iii. 2. 329, 1 Hagen) hircus Libyca lingua *tityrus* appellatur.

i. 404 purple-fleeced sheep. A. D. Nock in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1925—1926 p. 16 n. 3 cites G. Rohde's remarks in F. Jacoby *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* Berlin 1925 v. 60 f.

i. 404 golden-fleeced sheep. E. L. Mijatovich *Serbian Fairy Tales* London 1917 pp. 141—149 ('The golden-haired Twins') tells how the Twins became successively two trees with golden leaves and golden blossoms, two boards of a bed made from these trees, two sparks from the fire that burnt the bed, 'two beautiful lambs with golden fleeces and golden horns,' two golden-haired boys. See also S. Thompson *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (FF Communications No. 106) Helsinki 1932 i. 296 B 105. 1 'Ram with golden fleece.'

i. 405 ff. the golden lamb of Atreus. C. A. J. Hoffmann 'Ueber den goldenen Widder des Atreus' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1838 v. 1122—1137, O. Immisch 'Das goldne lamm des Atreus' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1890 xvii. 202—208, A. H. Krappé 'Atreus' Lamm' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 182—184 (citing remarkable Iranian parallels for a great ram as 'ein Symbol der Königswürde, ein Regalium' [*sic*!] from the 'Geschichte des Artachšir i Pāpākān,' founder of the Sassanid dynasty (T. Noldeke in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1879 iv. 44 f., also in Firdusi *Le Livre des Rois* trad. J. Mohl Paris 1877 v. 230 ff.)).

Ach. Tat. *isagog.* 20 in schol. Arat. ed. Maass p. 48, 14 f. Ἀτρεὺς γὰρ εὖρε τῶν πλανήτων τὴν ἐναντίαν φερόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κλινομένου καὶ φερομένου εἰς δυσμάς.

i. 406 the golden lamb identified with the sceptre. Cp. Sen. *Thyest.* 228 f. tergore ex huius novi | aurata reges scepra Tantalei gerunt.

i. 414 ff. the golden ram of Phrixos. G. Goerres *Studien zur griechischen Mythologie* (Berliner Studien für klassische Philologie und Archaeologie x 2) Berlin 1889 i. 72—120 ('Zeus Laphystios und die Athamas-sage'), A. H. Krappé 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147, *id.* 'La légende d'Athamas et de Phrixos' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 (contends that the myth arises from the fusion of two elements—the ancient custom of sacrificing the king or the king's eldest son in time of famine, and a familiar type of *Marchen*. Krappé attempts to reconstitute the original form of the story), J. A. Scott 'The origin of the myth of the golden fleece' in *The Classical Journal* 1926—1927 xxii. 541.

i. 416 a sanctuary of Leukothea. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1910 p. 378—382 no. 25 fig. 9 publishes a broken *stèle* of white marble, found at Larissa in Thessaly, which shows Danae daughter of Aphthonetos on her knees before Leukathea. The goddess, seated on two blocks of stone, raises her left hand to adjust her *himation*. In the background is seen the doorway of her circular temple. The inscription, in lettering of the early third century B.C., runs: Λευκαθέα[ι] Δανάα | Ἀθων[ε]ϊστρία (sc. *ὀνέθεικεν* or the like). See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44 (a Mynan myth under Creto-Carian influence) and J. Wackernagel 'Λευκαθέα' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 44—46 (cj. *Λευκαθέωντων* in Hes. *sc. Her.* 146 ὀδόντων...λευκὰ θεόντων, cp. *Λευκαθίζειν* 'weis glanzten').

i. 419 n. 5. But, according to O. Rossbach, the text of the cod. Vaticanus gives *in qua iouis in celum ascendit* (L. Deubner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 51^b). It is tempting to conjecture *in qua ovīs in caelum ascendit*, 'wearing which the sheep (golden ram) went up to heaven.'

i. 420 n. 0. R. Dussaud 'Une épreuve subie dans un chaudron' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lvnii. 309, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 185.

P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 228 cites R. Mouterde in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscri. et belles-lettres* 1931 pp. 141—147 an inscription from *Ahré* in *El Leja* recording a thunder-torm and a death by lightning Ἀ(γ)αθῆ Τύχη. | ὅτε ἡ κερα(υ)ν ὀβολία ἐγένετο κα[ί] (ἀ)π[ε]θεώθη (F. Cumont would read *καταπεθεώθη*) | Ἀύσος Ἄμ ἐλάθου ἔ τους κρ... (120 in the era of Βοστία = 225/226 A.D.).

i. 422 human 'bears.' Cp. G. C. Moore Smith 'Straw-bear Tuesday' in *Folk-Lore* 1909 xv. 202 f. with two pls., V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' *ib.* 1930 xli. 266—279 with pls. 9 and 10, *ead.* *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 pp. 16—25, 62 f., 108—111, 144, 225 f., 236 with fig. opposite p. 18 ('The Bear Hunt in French Catalonia'), Will-Erich Peuckert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*: Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 893—896 ('Der B[ar] als Vegetationsdämon').

i. 423 the 'fleece of Zeus.' W. Kroll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii Beiheft p. 39 discusses the Scythian custom recorded by Loukian, *Toxar.* 48 [with which cp. *Aristot. hist. an.* 9. 45. 630 a 22 f.]: 'So wird auch das Sitzen des Mysten auf dem Fell zu erklären sein: er schliesst einen Bund mit dem Gotte, indem er die Haut des diesem geweihten Tieres betritt.' T. Zachariae 'Auf einem Fell niedersitzen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 635—638 adds Indian parallels.



Fig. 865.

i. 423 ff. figs. 305 and 306. H. Lewy in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 198 ff. deals with the Jewish rite of *Movopodapa*. A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv p. xi with fig. 173 dates the Lambert *hyria* c. 470 B.C., notes that it is now in the Czartoyiski collection at Goluchow near Posen, and interprets the central figure as 'der nackte bekranzte Brautigam, neben ihm Schwamm und Waschbecken.' But W. Kroll in *Glossa* 1936 xxv. 154 observes that the vase is better figured by K. Bulas in the *Corp. vas. ant. Pologne. Gofuchow* p. 23 f. pl. 32, 3 a, 3 b, and that the queer object under the man's left foot is in reality non-existent! As Bulas remarks: 'La prétendue peau de mouton sous le genou droit de Thésée n'est que son pied gauche mal dessiné.'

i. 424. On the mouse in religion and folklore see J. V. Grohmann *Apollo Smintheus und die Bedeutung der Mause in der Mythologie der Indogermanen*, Prag 1862 pp. 1—87.

W. R. Dawson in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1924 x. 83—86 (the mouse as folk-medicine), *id.* 'The mouse in fable and folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1925 xxxvi. 227—248, J. U. Powell 'Rodent-Gods in Ancient and Modern Times' *ib.* 1929 xl. 173—179, J. U. Powell and A. R. Wright *ib.* 1929 xl. 392 f. H. Mørland in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 96 f. (*sorex* 'mouse'), Riegler 'Mau-' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 31—60, Ohrt 'Mausesege' *ib.* pp. 60—62.

i. 429 n. 4. A marble purse-bearing Hermes found in a Delian shop has his *phallós* tipped with a ram's head (M. Bulard *La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Délos* Paris 1926 p. 261. cp. *ib.* p. 483).

i. 431 Mnevis. H. Bonnet in D. II. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. ii with fig. 48 illustrates a *stèle* of New Kingdom date at Copenhagen (Valdemar Schmidt *Choix de monuments égyptiens* pl. 16) showing the worship of Mnevis, who appears a bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes.

i. 432 Apis with tokens of sun and moon. Late Egyptian terracottas represent Apis as a bovine bust with a solar disk and *uraeus* set between his horns and a lunar crescent slung round his neck. So e.g. on a specimen in the Whitway Collection now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge (fig. 865).

i. 436 f. Bouchis. After a series of newspaper notices (e.g. in *The Daily Telegraph* for Dec. 11, 1928, *ib.* Jan. 3, 1929, *ib.* Jan. 4, 1929 (six figs.), *ib.* Feb. 27, 1929 (six figs.)), *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 12, 1931) and at least one official report (R. Mond and W. B. Emery 'A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Armant' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1929 xvi. 3—12 with figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—20) a full account of the excavations at Hermonthis (*Armant*) has been put together by Sir R. Mond, O. H. Myers, and H. W. Fairman *The Bucheum* (Forty-first Memoir of The Egypt Exploration Society) London 1934 i The History and Archaeology of the Site (pp. 1—203), ii The Inscriptions (pp. 1—92), iii The Plates (pls. 1—173)—a work reviewed by G. Brunton in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 250 f. and by A. H. M. Jones in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 117. See also W. W. Tarn 'The Bucheum Stelae: a Note' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 187—189.

i. 436 n. 4. In *Alkaios frag.* 35. 3 Bergk⁴, 158. 3 Edmonds, 91. 3 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 430 B—C ὁ Βύκχι and in *Alkaios frag.* 46 B. 10 Diehl *ap. pap. Oxyrh.* 1234 *frag.* 3 και πῆδᾶ Βύκχιδος the ancients took Βύκχις to be an Aeolic form of Βάκχις (*et. mās.* p. 216, 47 ff. = Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 553 (ii. 351, 9 ff. Lentz) Βύκχις θύουα Αἰολικόν. παρὰ τὸ Βάκχιος Βάκχις και Βύκχις ὡς ἴππος ἴππις και οἶκος Οἶκίς και τροπή τοῦ ἄ εἰς ὦ ὡς βῆθος). cp. H. L. Ahrens *De Graecae linguae dialectis* Gottingae 1839 i. 78. R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Gottingen 1882 i. 58 (sceptical).

i. 437 ff. Recent literature on Io includes J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of Aeschylus' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1901 xii. 335—345 with pl. (*supra* p. 633 f. n. o), G. Mellén *De Ius fabula capita selecta* Upsaliae 1901 pp. 1 ff., R. Engelmann 'Die Iosage' in the *Jahrb. d. kas. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 37—58 pl. 2 (*supra* p. 634 n. 1), L. Deubner 'Zur Iosage' in *Philologus* 1905 lxiv. 481—492 with pl., F. Jacoby 'ἸΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lviii. 366—374, J. Vurtheim *Atschylos' Schutzfliehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 49—53 ('Io').

C. Soudille 'Une théorie récente sur la formation du mythe d'Épaphos' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1912 pp. 267—276, J. Vurtheim *op. cit.* pp. 30—41 ('Epaphos').

i. 438 *Bakchos* in Asia Minor. A. Gotze in the *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 iii. 1. 195 notes the existence of a Lydian deity *Baki* (W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 40 ff. no. 22 (pl. 9), 9 [=J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmale* Berlin 1932 p. 117 no. 22. 9] *karek bakillis*, 'priest of Bakis' (?), on a marble *stèle* of s. iv B.C. found in 1911 near the temple of Artemis at Sardis), whom the Lydians themselves identified with Dionysos (see the bilingual inscription given by W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 38 no. 20 (pl. 8), [=J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 20] *nanna's bakivialis artimial* | *Nánnas Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι* on a marble statue-base found in 1913 near the temple of Artemis at Sardis and referred to the second half of s. iv B.C.). Cp. also *Sardis* vi. 2. 39 no. 21 (pl. 9) an Ionic column from the same site inscribed [?m]d[ne]l's *bakivialis man[el]is*] τ[α. q. ?]=J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 21.

i. 441 ff. priests and priestesses with animal names. O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 298 thinks that Peleidiades (women dressed as doves) and Hyades (women dressed as sows) were 'alte Bezeichnungen für Zeus' Ammen'. Their *καταστροφισμοί* came later. W. M. Ramsay 'Pisidian Wolf-priests, Phrygian Goat-priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 197—202 would interpret the Pisidian name *Gaglalabos Edagdalabos* with the help of Hesych. δᾶος· και ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος as 'Wolf-wolf the chief Wolf' implying 'an order of priests called Wolves,' the Phrygian

Attabokaoi with the help of *ἀττηγός* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1625, 37 f.), *attagus* (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 6), and Hipponax *frag.* 2 Bergk⁴, 46 Knox *ap.* Tzetz. in *Lyk. Al.* 425 and 741 *καύης* (W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 362 ff.), Hesych. *κοῦς· ἱερεῖς Καβείρων... οἱ δὲ κόης* as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian *Αἰγυκορεῖς* as priests wearing Athena's *αἰγίς*. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 155 ff. no. 1802 (a glossary of late second or early third century) *frag.* 3 col. ii. 29 ff. [μ]ε[λι]σσα :]αἰ τῆς Διμητη[ρος ἱερε]αί· ἢ αὐτῆ Ἀπολλ[ωνία?] ἐν τῇ α̅ "ἐπ[άγον]σαν δὲ τὸν κάλαθον ταῖς Νύ[φ]φαις σὺν τῷ ἰστώ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς Περσεφόνης, ἃ μὲν παραγενέσθαι εἰς Πάρον καὶ ξενισ(τ)εῖσαν παρὰ | τῷ βασιλεῖ Μελίσσω χάρισσασθαι ταῖς τούτου θυγατρῶσι οὔσαις ἐξῆ κοντα τον τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἰστών, καὶ πρῶται αὐταῖς ἀναδοῦναι | τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθη τε καὶ μισθήρια· ὄθεν καὶ μελίσσας ἔκτοτε κληθῆναι τὰς θεσμοφοριαζούσας (κληθῆναι) γυναῖκας." P. Clement 'New evidence for the origin of the Iphigenia legend' in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1934 iii. 393—409 cites two Thessalian dedications to Artemis by devotees called *νεβροί* (*Inscr. Gr. supl.* iii. 2 no. 1123 *Δυνατῖς Μελανθίου Ἀρτέμιδι Παγασιτίδι νεβροῖ[α...]*, where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'An *νεβ(ρ)εῖσ[α]σα* ut *ἀρκεύσασα*, i.e. postquam deae *νέβρον* [*νιc*] nomine inservivit' and N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Arch. Ep.* 1931 p. 178 f. no. 18 fig. 1 the white marble cap-stone of a statue-base from Larisa inscribed *Ἀρτέμιδι Θεοσία Ἰππόλοχος Ἰππολόχους ὑπ[έρ] | Εὐβιοτείας Ἀλεξιπείας νεβρῖσαν[α]σ | λύτρα*). Clement interprets *θεοσία* as 'goddess of fertility' (*θεο- θρω- θεο- [supra* i. 681 n. 4]), derives *νεβείω* from **νεβ-ος* a parallel of *νεβ-ρός*, and claims that the legend of Iphigenia's sacrifice arose from the ritual of the *νέβρεια* in the cult of Artemis at Aulis—a most attractive hypothesis. F. R. Walton in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1935 xlvii. 167—189, discussing the *Ichneutae* of Sophokles, contends that the chorus of Satyrs were conceived as a pack of hunting dogs, cp. Poll. 5. 10 *ἰχνευτῆς ἀνήρ καὶ κύων* and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1651 an inscription from the Asklepieion in the Peiraeus which ordains 3 ff. *Μαλεάτη πόπανα τρία· Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τρία· Ἐρμῆι πόπανα τρία· Ἴασοῖ πόπανα τρία· Ἀκροῖ πόπανα τρία· Πανακείαι πόπανα τρία· | Κυσῖν πόπανα τρία· Κύννηγέταις πόπανα τρία*). But it is far from certain that the *Κύνες* and *Κύννηγέται* of this inscription were human beings. G. Kabel in the *Nachr. d. Kon. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1901 p. 506 points out that in Plat. *Phaon frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 674 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 441 E—442 A Orthanes, Konisalos, Lardon, Kybdasos, Keles are grouped with *Κυσί τε καὶ Κύννηγέται* and infers that the latter, like the former, were Phnagian deities. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 70 ff. no. 18 after further examination concludes: 'Itaque inferos daemones *Κύνες* et *Κύννηγέταις* dici persuasum habeo' etc. C. M. Bowra *Greek Lyric Poetry* Oxford 1936 p. 43 ff. holds that Alkman's famous *parthénion* was sung at a joint festival of Dionysos and Helene. 'The *Λευκιππίδες*, led by their two leaders or *πῶλοι*, sing the song in competition with the *Περαῖδες* before the presentation of some gift to the appropriate gods and a race at the dawn' (*ib.* p. 54). F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 906—910 has compiled the late- and most serviceable list of these usages. But it would be possible, and profitable, to go yet further in the same direction. Many examples of mythical metamorphosis might be explained along these lines. To give but one instance—the *Κορωνίδες* of the Boeotian tale told by Ant. Lib. 25 (*ἱστορεῖ Νικάνδρος ἑτεροειδυμένων δ' αὖ καὶ Κορωννα γερούων α̅*) and retold with variations by Ov. *met.* 13. 685 ff.

i. 447 ff. Kleobis and Biton. See also S. Eitrem 'Kleobis and Biton' in the *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlingar* 1905 No. 1 pp. 1—14 (criticised by L. Deubner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Nov. 4, 1905 pp. 1402—1405), L. Weber 'Tellos, Kleobis and Biton' in *Philologus* 1926 lxxvii. 154—166.

i. 448 Zeus at Nemea. On the American excavations of 1924—1927 see C. W. Blegen 'The American excavations at Nemea. season of 1924' in *Art and Archaeology* 1925 xix. 175—184, *ib.* 1927 xxvii. 189, *id.* 'Excavations at Nemea 1926' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 421—440 figs. 1—14 (of which fig. 3 = my fig. 867), cp. M. Clemmensen 'Le temple de Zeus à Némée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 1—12 figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—2 (= my fig. 866) plan and 3—4 details of order, R. Vallois 'Remarques sur le temple de Némée' *ib.* pp. 13—20 figs. 10—14, Ernst Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2318—2322. The scanty remains of an archaic temple on the same site include blocks of *puros*, some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of votive offerings found under the plaster of the later *témenos* yielded proto-Corinthian and Corinthian sherds, terracottas, and small bronzes. The new temple, built c. 330 B.C., was a Doric peripteral structure with 6 × 12 columns, 2 columns in the *prónaos*, but no *opisthódomos*. Inside were two rows of 6 Corinthian columns. At the western end of the *nais* 2 other columns marked off an *adyton*, which took the form of a sunken but unroofed

crypt with a flooring of white stucco (possibly of Roman date) laid some 1.08^m below the level of the *naōs* and reached by a roughish flight of five steps (fig. 867); but the precise purpose of this semi-subterranean *sanctum* is unknown. The temple had a marble *sima* carved in relief with *akanthos*-work and lion-heads. Three of its lanky Doric columns are still standing. And parallel to the temple-*façade* are the foundations of a great sacrificial altar, prolonged at some period towards the north so that it now measures 40.58^m long by 2.42^m wide.

One or two individual finds deserve mention. A *pôros* base embedded in a wall at the west end of the Gymnasium was inscribed with a *houstrophedon* dedication in lettering of s. vi B.C.: 'Αρίστis με ἀνέθηκε Δι Ὀρονίῳ φαῖνακτι πανκράτιον νικῶν τετράκις ἐν Νεμέαι Φείδωρος Φιῖδος τὸ Κλεοναῖο (C. W. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 432 f. fig. 10. W. Peck in the 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1931 p. 103 f. no. 1). The inscription, which appears to be our oldest example of an agonistic epigram, was conceived as an elegiac couplet eked out by an iambic pentapody. H. N. Couch 'An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 44—47 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a solid-cast



Fig. 867.

bull (0.083^m in length, 0.070^m in height) found in 1927 near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Illinois. The bull bears on its left side the *pointillée* inscription ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ. On artistic and epigraphical grounds it is assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

1. 450 n. 1 'Other Authors.' See *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18 *lemma*.

1. 453 Io *Kallithyessa*. F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374 supports the main contention of A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 19 ff. that there was an ancient cult of Hera at Tiryns (*supra* i. 424 n. o) against the criticisms of C. Robert in *Hermes* 1920 lv. 373 ff., but argues that the Tirynthian Io *Kallithyessa* (a Hesiodic, not Callimachean, tag) was split by Hellanikos 'Ἰεπέαι τῆς Ἥρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργεῖ into two Argive figures—Kallithyia the first priestess and Io (cp. *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 455 Jacoby).

1. 453 n. 8. On the pillar of Hera *Argela* see now P. Kastriotis 'Ἥρας Ἀργεῖας ξόανον' in the 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1920 pp. 53—26 with figs. 1—3.

1. 456 Epimenides and the Nemean lion. G. W. Dyson in the *Class. Quart.* 1929 xxiii. 195 thinks that Epimenides perhaps claimed to be a reincarnation of the soul of the Nemean lion.

1. 457 Hera *Argela* and the Moon. A late Graeco-Roman relief in reddish marble (height 2 ft 1½ ins), found at Argos and now in London, shows a facing bust of Selene in an arched niche bearing the signs of the zodiac. The goddess has a horned moon on her head and seven stars grouped round her. Below has been added the 'Gnostic'

inscription $\text{I}\alpha\iota\alpha \cdot \phi\rho\alpha\iota\nu\phi\iota\rho\iota \cdot \kappa\alpha\nu\theta\rho\alpha \cdot \lambda\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha \cdot \delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\tau\eta \cdot \Sigma\alpha\beta\omega\theta \cdot \alpha\beta\omega\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpt.* iii. 231 f. no. 2162 fig. 26 = my fig. 868. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 489, 1).

i. 461 n. 1 Zeus *Panoptes*. Anonym. *enarrat. brev. chronogr.* (dated c. 750 A.D. by K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*² München 1897 p. 424) 48 (in *Scriptores orientum Constantinopolitanorum* i. 53 Pregor) à propos of Julian and the bronze group at Kaisareia Pameas (*supra* p. 971 n. 1) says: $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron \nu \phi\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\upsilon\sigma\epsilon, \kappa\alpha\iota \Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \text{'}\text{Αφροδίτης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀναγεθεικῶς καὶ ἐαυτῶν· ἐν οἷς καὶ ναῶν οἰκοδομήσας ἐπέγραψε τὰδε· "θεῶ Διὶ Παντεπόπτῃ· \text{'}\text{Ιουλιανὸς Πανεαδὶ εἰς δῶρον ἀγεί."$

i. 464 Theos Tauros. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 393 f. nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (my fig. 321 is his no. 11 or 12) and *ib.* p. 393 n. 4 is able to cite four fresh examples of the inscription Θεοῦ Ταύρου , making a total of six, all found at Thespiai. A gold coin of the city Puskhalavati, with *rev.* Indian bull inscribed TAYPOC above and *Usabhe* below (E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 557, 587 pl. 6, 10) represents Nandi the bull of Civa (*supra* i. 637, ii. 791 n. 2). Mosch. 2. 135 $\pi\eta \mu\epsilon \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma, \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\epsilon$ (*τ.λ. ὦ ταῦρε*): uses the compound of Zeus.



Fig. 868.

i. 469 n. 7. A. Fick 'Asklepios und die heilschlange' in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1900 xxvi. 313 ff. cj. $\mu\iota\upsilon\alpha\nu < \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\eta\nu > \delta\iota\omega\kappa\omega\nu$, 'playing at blindman's buff.'

Fig. 325 is better published and discussed by Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 16, ii. 108. Cp. J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 23. See also Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 59 f. no. 43, 2 pl. 58 'Polyeidos, Glaucos et Minos' with n. 5.

i. 472 ff. The Labyrinth continues to provoke discussion—witness the following monographs: R. de Launay 'Les fallacieux détours du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1915 ii. 114—125, 348—363, *ib.* 1916 i. 295—300, 387—398, ii. 119—128, 295—300, 413—421 (takes as his starting-point the Round Building of Early Helladic date (third millennium B.C.), some 28^m in diameter, at Tiryns (K. Müller in *Tiryns* iii. 80 ff. pls 5, 29, 30), which appears to have been the earliest palace (Müller *loc. cit.* p. 87, G. Karo in Pauly—Wisowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1455)). E. Hommel 'Zur Geschichte des Labyrinths' in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 1919 xvii. 63—68 (holds that the maze-form in Crete and on Babylonian tablets represents the internal organs of man's body. On which showing the Labyrinth is 'a microcosm of the earth and a macrocosm of the human anatomy' (W. F. J. Knight in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvii. 105)). H. Diels 'Das Labyrinth' in the *Festgabe A. v. Harnack* Tübingen 1921 pp. 61—72. W. H. Matthews *Mazes and Labyrinths* London 1922 pp. 1—254 (well illustrated). A. Pignaniol *Recherches sur les jeux romains* Strasbourg 1923 p. 103 (le *ludus Troiae*). Humborg in Pauly—Wisowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 312—321, G. Karo *ib.* 321—323, H. Kees *ib.* 323—326, R. Winter 'Das Labyrinth in Tanz und Spiel' in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft*

und Jugendbildung 1929 v. 707—720 figs. 1—6 ('Es ist hier versucht worden, Verbindungs-
linien zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden Europas im Altertum nachzuweisen').
W. F. J. Knight 'Vergil and the Maze' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliiii. 212 f., *id.* 'Maze
Symbolism and the Trojan Game' in *Antiquity* 1932 vi. 445—458, *id.* 'Myth and Legend
at Troy' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvii. 98—121. R. Eilmann *Labyrinthos* Athen 1931 pp. 1—
106 with figs. 1—25 (p. 12 criticises my contention (*supra* i. 476 f.) that the Cnossian
coin-types originated in a *swastika*). C. N. Deedes *The Labyrinth* ed. by S. H. Hooke
London 1935 pp. 1—42 (thinks that in Egypt the Labyrinth originated in the baffling
defences of the royal tomb or, later, of the royal palace). J. Layard 'Maze-Dances and
the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula' [an island of the New Hebrides] in *Folk-Lore*
1936 xlvii. 123—170 (the Labyrinth provides a clue to the journey of the soul after
death), *id. ib.* p. 170 'the horned dancers of Abbots Bromley are thus seen to be not far
removed from the bull-headed Minotaur,' *id. ib.* 1937 xlviii. 115—182 'Labyrinth Ritual
in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs.'

i. 481 the Labyrinth at Taormina. By a curious coincidence a square mosaic repre-
senting the Labyrinth, with battlements all round, angle-towers, and a gateway, was
actually come to light at Taormina (P. Orsi in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 340 ff. figs. 26—29).

i. 481 the Labyrinth-dance at Delos. The Delian dance had ropes (*ῥυμοί*) to guide
the dancers (I. R. Arnold in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 455 [F. Durrbach
Inscriptions de Délos Paris 1926 ii. 77 ff. no. 316, 75 ff.]).

i. 482 n. 1 the altar of horns at Delos. See further É. Cahen 'L'autel de cornes et
l'hymne à Délos de Callimaque' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1923 xxxvi. 14—25 ('il est peut-être
difficile de voir dans le *Κέρατόν* l'autel principale du culte apollinien à Délos. Ce sera
plutôt, à côté du *βαμύς* centre de la liturgie officielle, comme un autel très antique, ou
s'attachaient les souvenirs les plus vénérables de la religion délienne, avec les rites
primitifs de la *γέρανος*, de la *διαμοστίγωσις*, d'autres encore' [Kallim. *h. Del.* 300—324,
Hesych. s.v. *Δηλιακὸς βαμύς*]), R. Vallois 'Topographie delienne. i. L'Artémision, le
Monument des Hyperboréennes, l'Olivier sacré et le Κέρατόν' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.*
1924 xlviii. 411—445.

The archaic temple of Dreros, built for Apollon *Delphinios* (*supra* i. 729 n. 2) early
in s. viii B.C., was perhaps half a century later furnished with an altar of unusual form.
A hollow structure of vertical slabs set against the back wall was covered by a wooden (?)
lid with a circular hole in it (0.15^m across), which itself was closed by a carefully rounded
potsherd. On this box-altar stood three statuettes of hammered bronze (one male, two
smaller female) together with two small iron knives: within it were numerous horns
(mostly left horns) of young goats—clearly a *keraton* comparable with that of Delos
(*supra* i. 482) (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 lx. 224 f., 241—244 figs. 17,
18, pls. 26, 27, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1936 li Arch. Anz. pp. 215—222
and 227 with figs. 1—4).

i. 483 *swastika* and maeander. A. S. Georgiades in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1914 p. 195 pl. 5
figs. 1, 2, *ib.* 1915 p. 94 fig. 1 publishes a fine *swastika*-pattern, which he calls the
'Ἐρετρικὸς μαιάνδρος,' from the monastery of S. George at Eretria.

i. 485 Theseus and the Minotaur as central panel of the Labyrinth. C. Bursian
Aventicum Helvetiorum Fünftes Heft Zürich 1870 (= *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen
Gesellschaft in Zürich* xvi. Abth. 1. Heft 5) p. 58 pl. 29 publishes a handsome mosaic,
found in 1830 at Cormeret in the canton of Freiburg and now in the Freiburg Museum:
the design shows a Labyrinth with towers at the angles and Theseus with the Minotaur
in the centre.

i. 490 ff. the Minotaur. Materials bearing on this vexed problem may be here
assembled. Sir J. Marshall *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* Part I,
1913—14 Calcutta 1915 p. 25 f. pl. 23 fig. c publishes an enamelled terra-cotta relief,
found by M. Duroselle in the ruins of the Shwegugyi pagoda in Burma (s. v A.D.),
showing among the subjects that relate to Buddha's fight with Mara two bull-headed
beings with human bodies and limbs, nude except for a loin-cloth. The type is suggestive
of the Greek Minotaur.

F. Quilling *Minotauros. Der Veredavierstein im Saalburgmuseum* Leipzig 1919
pp. 1—40 (severely criticised by E. Anthes in the *Bert. philol. Woch.* April 3, 1920
pp. 322—326).

Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter to me dated Dec. 14, 1926, maintains that
there is no convincing representation of the Minotaur in 'Minoan' or Mycenaean art,
and that the seal-impression always cited as such would never have been so understood
had not the wish been father to the thought. He holds that the mixed creatures of human
+ animal type, which occur first in the 'Late Minoan' age, are due to the impact of

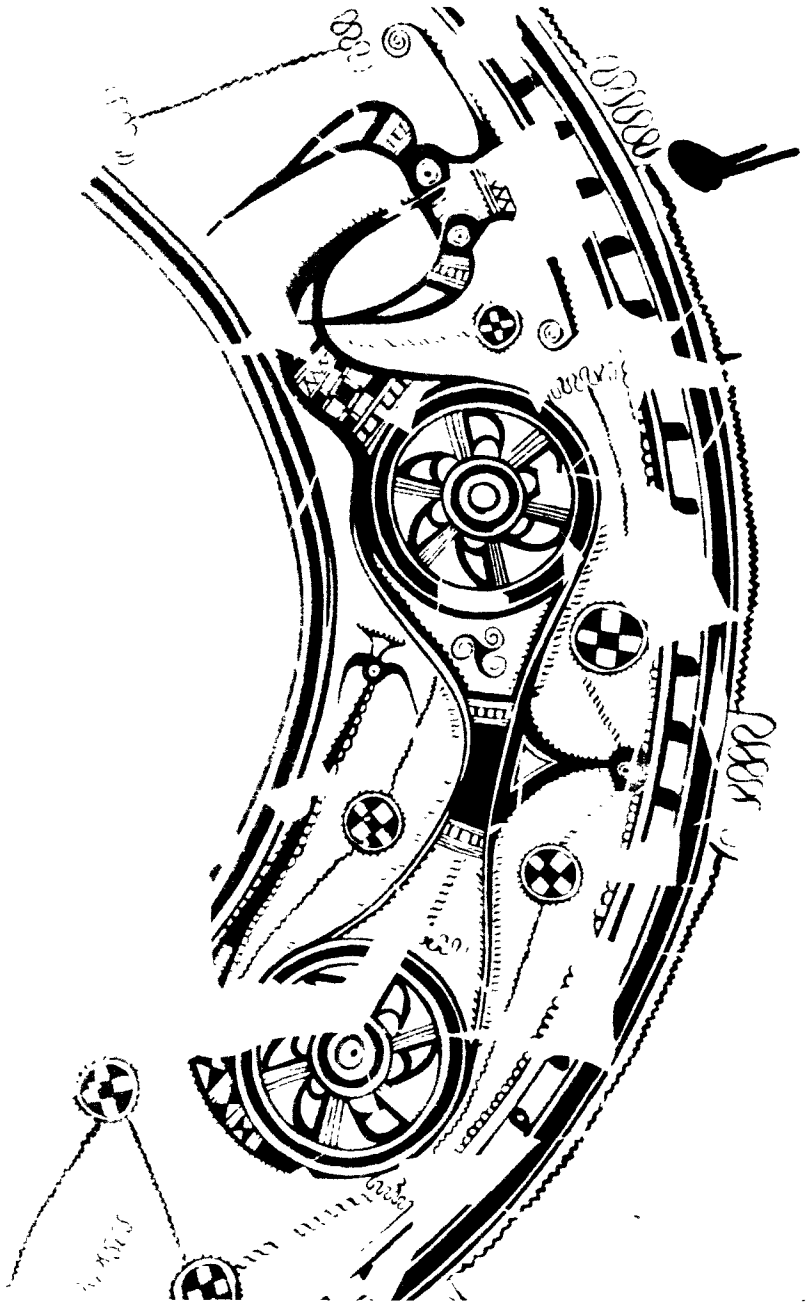


Fig. 869.



Fig. 87o.



Fig. 87t.

Caucasian immigration and a change in the ruling race. Such *Mischwesen* had long been known to the peoples of the eastern Pontos and may well have been introduced as a novel *motif* into 'Minoan' art by the victors. Semper surmises that the Minotaur was first discovered by the Hellenes, probably to represent some traditional 'Minoan' word, whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (*ιερός γάμος*), which points to the presence of a non-'Minoan' factor in the population of Crete. This factor he regards as 'uragaischen' and believes to have been racially connected with Asia Minor, whereas the genuine founders of the 'Minoan' civilisation were a Mediterranean folk racially akin to the Libyans.

Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 270 f. comments on a bronze Etruscan mirror (F. Bone 'La mort du Minotaure' in the *Ecole française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1898 xviii. 51—63 pl. 1—2), which shows not only Minos, Athena, Ariadne, and Herakles (*mine, menrva, ariadna, hercle*), but also the bull-headed Minotaur (*Beerrumines*). P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1931 xix. 216 had pointed out that this Etruscan compound was the equivalent of [*Ta*] *ἵππος Μινώσος* on a 'Chalcedian' *hythia* from Caere (*Cerzetrri*) [Louvre F 18, best published by A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 13 no. 12, 175 fig. 3 pl. 26].

A. Schulten *Numantia* Munchen 1931 ii. 213 notes the prevalence of the bull-cult throughout Iberia. *Id. ib.* ii. 262 f. pls. 24 and 25 (= my fig. 869) gives the black painted decoration of a red pottery *dolium*, which in a highly stylized geometric manner (A. del Castillo in Ebert *Reallex.* ix. 138) renders a couple of bulls. *Id. ib.* ii. 257 pl. 16 (= my figs. 870 and 871) shows the designs on a polychrome jug, which represents two male dancers wearing bulls' horns on their arms and bulls' hoofs (?) on their feet. The dance may be that mentioned by Strab. 164 as celebrated by night *ἀνορθῶν τῶν βοῶν*. In any case the previous existence of such a bull-cult in Spain explains in part the age-long popularity of the Spanish bull-fights. See further V. Alford *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 p. 193 f. on the Basque *Toro de Fuego* or 'Fire Bull' ('probably a form of bull devotion, separate from, though existing side by side, with the *corrida* or bullfight').

T. L. Shear in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 540 fig. 1 (J. Charbonneau in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1935 xlviii. 83 fig. 2) publishes a gold ring from a Mycenaean tomb near the 'Theseion' at Athens: 'The scene represented on the ring is of unusual interest. On the right a man is striding to the right. He has the head of an animal with long ears or short horns. In one hand he carries a branch or spear, and with the other holds the end of a double cord, which is attached to the waist of the foremost of two women behind him. The women have veiled heads, high ruffs around their necks, and pleated skirts. On the extreme left is a sacred pillar, and a small object resembling a bird or butterfly appears in the background above the figures. A group consisting of a bull-headed man who is leading two captive women recalls the legend of the Minotaur and the Athenian maidens. The new discovery in Athens may illustrate an early version of the later familiar myth.' But Shear's interpretation of the scene is far from certain.

E. Sjoqvist in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 344—347 fig. 11 gives the upper part of a terra-cotta statuette from *Aija Irini* in Kypros, which portrays a priest wearing a bull's mask drawn over his head. Sjoqvist cites analogous figures and concludes: 'Es scheint daher, als ob die Tiermaskenverkleidung eine rituelle Tracht ware, besonders mit zere-moniellen Prozessionen und Tanzen verknüpft. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass die mit Sicherheit bestimmbar Priestermasken Stierkopfe sind. Die Reminiszenzen in Aija Irini von einem ursprünglichen Stiergott sind sicher noch lebendig gewesen, und der Stier war sein heiliges Tier und sein Symbol, auf gleiche Art, wie es mit Hadad in Syrien und seinem Gegenstück in Anatolien der Fall war. Indem der Priester sein Bild anlegte, ging er eine greifbare Vereinigung mit der Gottheit ein, auf gleiche Art wie Demeters Priester in Pheneos bei gewissen Kultakten die Maske der Göttin anlegte [*supra* ii. 1136 n. 4]. Der Brauch hat bereits während der Bronzezeit eine grosse Verbreitung auf Cypern und innerhalb des syro-hettitischen Kulturgebietes gehabt und scheint sporadisch auch in dem minoi-ch-mykenischen Kreise spurbar zu sein.'

With this conclusion I have long been in substantial agreement (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120—132 ('The Cult of the Bull')). It would, I conceive, be true to say that all round the shores of the Mediterranean in early times the thunder-god was envisaged as a bellowing bull, whose human representative, the king or priest, identified himself with the deity by donning a bull-mask or at least by wearing bull-horns. Even Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, when he claimed to speak in the name of the Lord, 'made him horns of iron' (1 Kings 22. 11).

i. 497 ff. 'Minoan' Bull-fights. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxx. 90 f. fig. 96 illustrates a couple of *rhyta* from 'Early Minoan' ossuaries in the Mesara, Crete, showing bulls with acrobatic performers ('the earliest record of these sports'). W. Crooke 'Bull-

baiting, Bull-racing, Bull-fights' in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxviii. 141—163 discusses the subject with many parallels from India, Nigeria, etc. Ella Bourne 'Ancient Bull-fights' in *Art and Archaeology* 1917 v. 142—153 cites *inter alia* fig. 9 a marble relief from Smyrna. now at Oxford, inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΨΙΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ ς Β (R. Chandler *Marmora Oxoniensia* Oxoni 1763 ii. 105 no. 58 pl. 8, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 526 no. 1, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 257 f. fig. 9, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3212) and a similar marble relief from Sardeis inscribed [ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΨΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΩΝ?] ΗΜΕΡΑΣ Γ (H. C. Butler in *Sardis* i. 1. 95 fig. 96, W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson *ib.* vii. 1. 88 f. no. 82 fig. 59), with which cp. a relief found west of the theatre at Ephesos (R. Heberley in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 46 fig. 12) and an inscription from the Ephesian stage Μ[η]νῶφιλος Μηνοφίλου τὸ κλισίον | καὶ τὸ πε[ρ]ὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς Ταυρασταῖς τοῖς Κρεωνταῖς (*id.* in *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1912 ii. 182 no. 75). Sir A. J. Evans 'On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure from Crete' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 247—259 figs. 1—12. *Id.* *The Palace of Minos* London 1936 Index p. 21 s.v. 'Bull-sports.' Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-En.* v A. 24—27 (concluding with some friendly criticism of my own views).

i. 500. On the horn-bearing woman of Laussel see now M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*⁴ Wien 1925 p. 166 fig. 2, p. 167 fig. 1, p. 601 ff., R. de Saint-Périer *L'art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 29 pl. 8, 4.

i. 500. On the significance of the drinking-horn see H. Thiersch 'Kretische Hornbecher' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 78—85 figs. 30—45 (p. 83 f. 'Die Vorstellung, dass das Trinken aus solchem Horne überirdische Kräfte verleihe, ist ja nur die weitere Konsequenz des ganz allgemein verbreiteten Gedankens, dass die Kraft des Tieres auch noch in dem von ihm abgetrennten Horne weiterlebe, dass dieses darum auch zur Abwehr allerlei dämonischer Angriffe in hohem Masse geeignet sei').

i. 503 f. bull-carrying. Cp. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum saevae* ii. 49 ff. no. 12. 30 ff = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 84, 30 ff. (an Athenian decree of 421/0 B.C.) τὸς δ[ε] β[ο]ῖ[ς] ἐχθ[ε]ρὰν αἰτοῖς σ[ι] φίνυρος[ιν αἰρεσθαί πρὸς τὸν βομόν· ἡοῖρ[υ]ς[ε] δὲ ἀρνῶναι [τὸς βοῖς ἐφέβος ἡο] | ἡεροπο[ο]ί[ι] ἡαιρέσθω] διακοσίος ἐξ Ἀθ[ε]ν[α]ίων and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 467, 10 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1028, 10 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 10 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 717, 10 f. (an Athenian decree of 100/99 B.C.) ἤρανο δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοῖς βοῖς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τῆι θυσίαι καὶ αὐτοὶ εβουθήτησαν ἐν τῶι περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ with the notes of Ziehen and Dittenberger *ad locc.* See also E. Maass s.v. βόαρσαι in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 222 f., L. Ziehen 'Zum Opferritus' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 227—234, and F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 67 n. 20.

R. C. Bosanquet drew my attention (7 June 1915) to Hesych. Γάνδαρος· ὁ ταυροκράτης, παρ' Ἰνδοῖς. The reference is apparently to the Graeco-Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara in north-western India.

i. 506 ff. Ritual Horns. In addition to the important articles of I. Scheffelowitz 'Das Hornermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451—487 (*ib.* p. 473 f. 'Hornern am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit') and J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 791^b—796^a (p. 794^b 'conventional representations of an earlier βουκράνιον') consult W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 72—98 (starting from P. E. Newberry's Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert mountain (*supra* ii. 555 n. o, cp. 545 n. o), Gaerte p. 82 takes the Cretan horns to be 'die Kultsymbole der in Kieta zu jener Zeit verehrten grossen Erdgottin, emer der kleinasiatischen *Magna Mater* und der griechischen Rhea verwandten Gestalt') and H. Sjövall 'Zur Bedeutung der altkretischen Horns of Consecration' *ib.* 1925 xxiii. 185—192 pls. 1 and 2 (Sjövall connects the Cretan horns with the 'Mondbilder' of north-European art (*supra* i. 507), which he regards as andirons). See also G. Karo in Ebert *Reallex.* v. 392 ('eine reine Schmuckform'), A. E. Napp *Bukramon und Gairlande. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Dekorationskunst* Wertheim a. M. 1933 pp. 1—49, W. Deonna 'Mobilier délien et ΒΩΜΟΙ ΚΕΡΑΟΤΧΟΙ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 pp. 381—447 figs. 1—53.

i. 514 bees from bulls. A. E. Shipley 'The "Bugonia" myth' in the *Journal of Philology* 1915 xxxiv. 97—105 endorses the view of C. R. Osten Sacken *On the Oxen-born bees of the Ancients* Heidelberg 1894 pp. 1—80 that the honey-bee (*apis mellifica*) was confused with the drone-fly (*eristalis tenax*), which superficially resembles the honey-bee and is often found in a stray carcase or in rotting vegetation.

i. 518 ff. the altar as object of cult. See further E. Maass 'Bomos und Verwandtes'

in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 227 n. 4, and cp. the mediaeval use of *Deus* 'pro ipso altari ubi Dominicus Corpus asservatur' (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ii. 829 s.v. 'DEVS').

R. Kittel in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1925 xlv. 123—153 deals at large with the transformation of sacred places or objects into deities (*Qalesh* 'sanctuary,' *Ashera* 'sacred post,' *Hammam* 'pillar')—summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 487.

i. 521 ff. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete. S. Eitrem 'Zur Apotheose iv. Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 11—21 deals with 'Die Theogamie des Herrscherkultus,' points out that Caligula as *ὁ νέος Ἥλιος* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 798, 3 Kyzikos) married the Moon (Suet. *Calig.* 22, Dion Cass. 59. 27), and does not scout the hypothesis of 'eine althellenische Theogamie, zwischen Sonne und Mond vollzogen' (p. 18 n. 1).

i. 522 f. the wooden cow. Suet. *Mx.* 12 inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaam ligneo iuvencae simulacro abditam mitit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt.

Frazier *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 113 (Hindus born again by being enclosed in the golden image of a cow and dragged through the usual channel or, failing that, through an image of the sacred *Yoni*).

Lady Sterry, wife of Sir Wasey Sterry, kindly sent me the following note (Aug. 21, 1931): 'According to the Christians of the Lebanon, the Druses have a sacred calf used in their worship. The calf is said to be made of wood hollowed out inside, and at one of their feasts cakes and sweetmeats are passed through the calf, which are considered blessed and are distributed to their friends, not necessarily only to Druses. The calf is said to be kept in their place of worship, which is open only to the initiated, and women are not allowed to be initiated.'

i. 525 the cult of *Hellotis*. C. W. Vollgraff in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1919 xlvii. 162 no. 7 publishes a squared block of limestone, found at Argos, which is inscribed in lettering of s. v B.C. *ῥος* : *ἡ Ἄστια*, that is *ῥος Ἑλλωτίου*, and infers that the Cretan goddess *Ἑλλωτίς* must have had a shrine *Ἑλλώτιον* near the road to Mantinea.

A. Lesky 'Hellos—Hellotis' in the *Wiener Studien* 1926/27 xlv. 152—173, *ib.* 1928 xlv. 48—67 and 107—129 would recognise a *ἱερὸς γάμος* between the earth-goddess Europa, who in Crete was originally named Hellotis, and the sky-god Zeus, who in pre-Greek times had the form of a bull. Lesky finds traces of the same belief at Dodona in the Helloi and their eponym Hellos (cp. Hellas, Hellenes, etc.), also at Corinth and Marathon in Athena *Hellotis*, and less certainly in Helle of the Hellespont.

i. 530 n. 2. O. Konnecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxx. 547—551 discusses the golden basket of Europe (Mosch. 2. 37 ff.) viewing it as Moschos' attempt to outshine the wooden bowl of Thyrsis (Theokr. 1. 27 ff.).

i. 531 n. 3. On the name *Εὐρώπη* see also W. Aly in *Glotta* 1913 v. 63—74, who connects it with *εὐρῶς*, *εὐρῶεις*, *εὐρῶδης*, *εὐρωπός* (e.g. Eur. *I. T.* 626, Opp. *de pisc.* 3. 20) in the sense of 'dark' (Hesych. s.vv. *εὐρῶεντρα*, *εὐρωπών*, Soud. s.v. *εὐρῶεις*, schol. *Od.* 23. 322, schol. *Soph. Ai.* 1190), and concludes: 'so stammt der Name, wie seine Bildung zeigt, aus jener Schicht, die zutage tritt, wenn wir Thessalien mit Arkadien vergleichen, ein Resultat, das für die Einordnung der Göttin zeitlich und räumlich bedeutsam sein dürfte. Neben Europa in Bootien und Europa in Sekyon finden wir nun erstere auch in Kreta und zwar genau in dem Teil der Insel, wo in Gortyn neben peloponnesischem Einfluss auch unmittelbar thessalischer bereits anderweitig nachgewiesen ist.'

i. 534 n. 2. A. von Sallet 'Die Umschrift der Europa auf Silbermünzen von Gortyna' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1879 vi. 263 ff. (Mt Tityron), J. N. Svoronos 'The inscription *Τίσυροι* on coins of Gortyna' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 126 ff. (an ethnic = *Γορτύνιοι*, cp. *Καρτεμνίδες* (*supra* i. 471) and *Κορόστιοι* (Hesych. *Κορόστιοι οἱ Γορτύνιοι*)), A. Skias '*Τίσυρος, Κρητική πόλις*' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1891 p. 191 f. (citing schol. Theokr. 3. 2 (*supra* i. 534 n. 2)).

i. 536 fig. 407. With the type of Epiktosis in the relief from Loukou cp. that of Salus on a *sestertius* struck by Commodus in 184 A.D. (H. Mattingly—E. A. Sydenham *The Roman Imperial Coinage* London 1930 iii. 416 no. 439 pl. 16, 328: Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 713, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 300 fig. 3).

i. 542 n. 5. See now Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 921 ff. no. 1478 pl. 246, 22 London and no. 1479 pl. 246, 23. The reverse of the latter is inscribed *ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙ[ON]*. Babelon comments: 'La belle tête de Zeus *Κρηταγενής*.. est inspirée de celle du Zeus Olympie sur les statères d'Elis....'

i. 549 ff. Ba'albek and its cults. The official record of the German excavations has now been published in three stately volumes—T. Wiegand *Baalbek*. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1878 bis 1905. Vol. i by B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld with the assistance of O. Puchstein, D. Krencker, H. Kohl, G. Schumacher. Berlin—Leipzig 1921. Vol. ii by D. Krencker, T. von Lupke, and H. Winnefeld with the assistance of O. Puchstein, B. Schulz. Berlin—Leipzig 1923. Vol. iii by H. Kohl, D. Krencker, O. Reuther, F. Sarre, and M. Sobernheim. Berlin—Leipzig 1925.

See also Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 396 f., F. Cumont 'Le Jupiter héliopolitain et les divinités des planètes' in *Syria* 1921 ii. 40—46, *id.* 'À quels dieux étaient consacrés les temples de Baalbek?' *ib.* 1925 vi. 202, H. Thiersch 'Zu den Tempeln und zur Basilika von Baalbek' in the *Nachr. d. kon. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1925 p. 1 ff. (assigns the smaller temple to the Syrian *Magna Mater*), U. Wilcken 'Zu den



Fig. 872.



Fig. 873.

"Syri-schen Gottern" in the *Festgabe für Adolf Drissmann zum 60. Geburtstag* 7. November 1926 Tübingen 1927 pp. 1—19, H. Seyrig in *Litteris* 1928 pp. 165—179 (assigns the smaller temple to Hermes assimilated to the Semitic Genmaios), *id.* 'La Triade Héliopolitaine et les Temples de Baalbek' in *Syria* 1929 x. 314—356 with pls. 82—86 (p. 346 n. 6 denies the solarity of Jupiter *Helopolitanus*), D. Krencker in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv Aich. Anz. pp. 169—181 figs. 1—7 (discusses the successive phases in the construction of the temple of Zeus), and cp. M. Rostovtzeff 'Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 58—63 with pl. 9. 1—10 (clay tesserae etc.).

i. 551 n. 2. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36803.

i. 567 ff. Jupiter *Helopolitanus* and the Bull. R. Dus-saud 'Heliopolitanus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 50—57. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 31 ff. no. 829 fig. (= my fig. 872) publishes a small altar (height 0'65^m), of local limestone, from *Niha* a village of Lebanon at the foot of *Djebel Sannin*, which shows the god holding whip and corn-ears, with a *phalos* on his head, a necklace with central medallion on his chest, and stiff drapery with six four-leaved rosettes arranged in panels. He stands on a pedestal, the front of which has a goddess in a niche. And he is flanked by two bulls. Mendel *ib.* iii. 613 ff. no. 1404 fig. (= my fig. 873) adds a statuette (height 0'76^m), of local limestone, from *Soukhné* to the north-east of Palmyra, which shows a similar type with even richer decoration. On the breast is engraved the god himself, flanked by Helios and Men: on the abdomen, Hera or Demeter, flanked by Athena and Hermes(?). On the base is inscribed in lettering of s. ii—iii A.D. *I(ovi) • O(ptimo) • M(aximo) • H(eliopolitano) • Sex(tus) • R(avius) • P(roculus) • praef(ectus) • coh(ortis) • II • Thrac(um) • v(otum) p(osuit)*. But



Fig. 874.



Fig. 875.

the most important monument of the cult yet found is the idol of gilded bronze (height 0.384^m) from Ba'albek itself, slashed and broken by some fanatic but skilfully repaired by M. André for the Charles Surssock collection and admirably published by R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1920 i. 3—15 pls. 1—4 (of which 1 and 2 = my figs. 874 and 875), S. N. Deane in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1921 xxv. 94 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 10 no. 5, *The Illustrated London News* for May 2, 1931 p. 743. The bronze, which may be dated c. 150 A.D., represents the god as he stood with his usual attributes, wearing a *kálathos* (of interlaced reeds?) decked with four corn-ears and a disk between globules perhaps meant for schematized *uræi*), a long *chiton* with short sleeves, and a cuirass-like sheath with numerous reliefs (on the chest, a winged disk; below, seven busts—Helios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, Kronos; and above the feet a lion-head for Gennaios (*supra* p. 888): behind, another winged disk, an eagle, two rams'-heads to suggest Zeus *Ammon*, six four-leaved rosettes or stars of diminishing size: at the sides, two elongated thunderbolts). The whole figure is erect on a cubical plinth adorned with a relief of Tyche (turreted crown, rudder, *cornu copiae*). And the plinth, flanked by a pair of young bulls, rests on a larger base, which is pierced with a circular opening (c. 0.073^m across)—possibly a letter-box for the *codicilli* of persons consulting the god (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. 14 ff. (*supra* i. 552 f.)). See further R. Cagnat in *Syria* 1924 v. 108 ff. and S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 15, 141 n. 4, 187, 218—222 pl. 39, 1.

The biggest harvest of fresh facts bearing on the Ba'albek cults is, however, that garnered in the posthumous work of Sébastien Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et Vetera* (Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale. Troisième Série, ii) in the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* xxi, i Beyrouth 1937 pp. 1—181 with 17 figs. and 51 pls. (reviewed by F. R. Walton in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1938 xlii. 435 f.). This monograph publishes a mass of new or little known material, including altars, *stélai*, engraved gems, lead seals, bronze rings, etc. In particular it furnishes a full account of the rock-cut relief in the quarry at Ferzol (pp. 29—71) and of the carved octagonal altar at Fiki or Fakyé on the west slope of Antilibanos (pp. 87—129). Incidentally it discusses many, if not most, of the associated deities of Koile Syna. And it ends (p. 138 f.) by laying stress on the symbolic corn-ears of Ba'albek (*supra* i. 558, 569, 572, iii. 1093): 'C'est dans cet épi que se concentre finalement toute l'essence de la religion héliopolitaine sous l'empire romain. Issue de la triade familiale [*supra* i. 553 f. Hadad, Atargatis, Semios] groupée autour du grand dieu syrien du tonnerre et de la pluie, Hadad, cette religion devint progressivement celle du *Dieu du Ciel*, B'el-Samin, embrassant dans ses flancs les traits qui, dès l'époque hellénistique, méritèrent à Ba'albek la dénomination d'Héliopolis, et firent d'elle avec le temps le centre coelésyrien de tous les cultes solaires de l'époque romaine. Tout se résolvait pratiquement dans l'adoration de l'astre brillant du jour, dans ses fonctions de dispensateur de vie et de prospérité agraire, telles qu'elles nous sont résumées dans l'image récemment découverte à Doura du B'el-Samin—*Zeus théos*, image par laquelle je mets fin à toute cette étude (pl. XLII)' [M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 63 f. pl. 11. 1 'Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrrios,' p. 68 ff. pl. 13 'Painted decoration of the *cella* of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown);' *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Prelim. Report vii—viii. Yale Univ. Press 1939, pp. 180 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Theos), 284 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Kyrios)].

i. 571 n. 2 leonine gods. At *Bir-Derbal* near *Ghardimaou* in Tunisia a Punico-Roman sanctuary containing a dedicatory inscription to Saturn was found; also other rustic sanctuaries of s. ii A.D., which could boast life-size statues of terracotta and many statuettes. One life-size head had the face of a lioness wearing fillets and is thought to have represented the *Genius Terrae Africae* (L. Carton 'Note sur des édicules renfermant des statues en terre cuite, découverts dans la région de Ghardimaou (Tunisie)' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1918 pp. 338—347, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 320), because a *denarius* issued by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in 47—46 B.C. shows Sekhet with leonine head, disk, and *ankh* accompanied by the legend Γ·Τ·Α (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 280 no. 51 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 572 no. 8 pl. 121, 4 and no. 9 (*Genius Tutelaris Africae* or *Genius Totus Africae?*)).

i. 581 the golden thunderbolt of Adad. Cp. Liv. 22. 1 (when prodigies occurred in 217 B.C.) *decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret*, etc. Aristoph. *av.* 1750 (*supra* p. 59).

A magnificent relief in basalt from *Arslan-Tash*, dating from the reign of Tiglath-pileser iii (746—727 B.C.), shows Adad, with a double three-pronged thunderbolt in either hand, standing on the back and head of a bull as he advances rapidly from left to right (*L'art de la Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre* Paris 1936 v. 300 fig. A).

i. 586 Atargatis with her lions. R. Dussaud 'Patère de bronze de Tafas' in *Syria* 1924 v. 212—215 with pl. 54, 1 and 2 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 342) describes a bronze *patera* of Roman date, found at *Tafas* in the *Hauran* but later stolen from the Mohammedan Museum at Damaskos. The central relief shows a



Fig. 876.

lion standing in front of a column on which is an image of Priapos. The lion rests his forepaw on a *scabellum* (?). At the left is a musician playing the double flutes; at the right, a woman with a timbrel, towards whom the lion turns his head. Dussaud thinks that the lion of Atargatis prefers the native timbrel to the foreign flutes!

i. 586 figs. 448 and 449. See further A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 204—211 fig. 40.

i. 590 fig. 450. See now *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia* etc. pp. xxxvii. 28 pl. 4, 15 and 16.

N. Glueck in *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 21, 1937 p. 298 ff. publishes finds from a Nabataean temple known as *Khirbet et-Tannur* and situated on a hill in southern Transjordan, directly south of the *Wadi el-Hesa* (the 'brook Zered' of Deut. 2. 13, cp. Num. 21. 12). Excavations in March 1937 yielded bearded heads probably representing Zeus (Adad) (p. 298 fig. 3, p. 299 fig. 11): a relief of Zeus (Adad) enthroned between two young bulls, his neck encircled by a lion-headed torque, his right hand raised perhaps to hold a double axe, his left hand grasping the bull's ear and partly concealed by a conspicuous thunderbolt (p. 299 fig. 15 = my fig. 876 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Glueck); an incense-altar with reliefs of Zeus (Adad) and Tyche (p. 298 figs. 7-9): the bust of Atargatis in relief with leaf-like decoration (fish-scales? A. B. C.) on forehead, cheeks, and chest (p. 299 fig. 6); the bust of Atargatis in relief with head-dress formed of two fishes (p. 299 fig. 5); a snake-entwined eagle standing on a wreath with a plaster basin below (p. 300 fig. 18); etc. For a fuller account of these important finds see N. Glueck 'The Nabataean Temple of Khirbet et-Tannur' in the *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* for October 1937 No. 67 pp. 6-16 figs. 2-8, *id.* 'A newly discovered Nabataean temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannur, Transjordan' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 361-376 figs. 1-15, C. Picard 'Les sculptures nabatéennes de Khirbet-et-Tannour et l'Hadad de Pouzsoles' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 244-249 figs. 1-4.

i. 592 n. o the sacred 'cock.' H. Giessmann 'Der heilige Hahn zu Hieropolis in Syrien' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* Giessen 1925 Beiheft xli. 88-95 (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4000, 5 (Ikonion) as read by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 157 *φαίδλευκον ἀλέκτορα*), and modern Palestinian customs (J. A. Jaussen 'Le coq et la plume dans la tradition palestinienne' in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1924 xxxiii. 574-582)).

i. 598 n. 1 Zeus at the Italian Lokroi. S. Mirone 'Copies de statues sur les monnaies de la Grande Grèce' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1926 xxix. 134-138 deals with Zeus 'Ελευθέριος at Tarentum, Metapontum, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi.

i. 602 eagle on pyramidal structures at Tarsos and Seleukeia Pieria. F. Cumont 'L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apothéose des empereurs' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119-164 with figs. 1-22 and pl. 1, *id.* (citing A. H. Gardiner) 'A propos de l'aigle funéraire des Syriens' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 208-214, S. Ronzevalle 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth* 1912 v. 2. 1*-63* with 9 figs., 105*-115* with 4 figs., L. Deubner 'Die Apothéose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Rom. Myth* 1912 xxvii. 1-20 figs. 1-4, F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35-118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hierapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs') with figs. 9-43.

i. 602. For ∇ as the womb of a mother-goddess see the evidence collected by F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig-Berlin 1922 p. 21 f., M. Mayer 'Delta praehistoricum' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 19, 1929 pp. 91-94, E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1932 lviii. 1. 142.

i. 603 n. 5 Di-Sandas. R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres)* Paris 1848 xvii. 161 insists 'qu'il faut certainement lire de cette manière: Δε-Σανδάν.'

604 the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui. These are now well published by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yazılıkaya* Bamberg 1934 with bibliography, map, plan, 28 photographic pls., and panoramic drawing, *id.* *Die Ruinen von Boghaz-keui* Berlin-Leipzig 1937 pp. 1-107 with 63 figs., chronological table, and 3 plans. It appears that the great procession of Iasily Kaya may be dated between 1350 and 1330 B.C. (C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 256).

i. 604 ff. Zeus *Dolichaios* and *Iupiter Dolichenus*. To the bibliography given on p. 604 n. 8 should be added F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 173-202 ('Doliché et le Zeus Dolichénos') with figs. 55-70, *id.* 'Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénos' in *Syria* 1920 i. 183-189 pl. 17 (found 'entre Marash et Biredjik': Zeus stands on bull supported by altar with base inscribed Κρίστος και Σεβαστ[ῶ]νος), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronzestatuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 118 f. fig. 65 (Genus of *Iupiter Dolichenus* from Mar'ash, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), p. 120 fig. 63 (*Iupiter Dolichenus* from Berlin-Lichtenberg, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), *id.* in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 269, J. Leipoldt in H. Haas *Bildatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig-Erlangen 1926 ix-

xi. 15 f. figs. 116—122, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 227 f., S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 292 (temple at the western corner of the Aventine, shrine on the Esquiline, shrine in *Reg. xiv*), *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 17, 1935 p. 290 (recent finds on the Aventine, including a photograph of the sanctuary, a marble statue of the god holding a double axe in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left, an inscription mentioning Commodus, etc.). G. I. Kazarow 'Denkmaler des Dolichenus-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1932 xxvii. 168—173 figs. 105—108 (finds made in 1930 at *Jassen* near *Widin* (Bononia) in Bulgaria, including a triangular bronze plate with well-preserved reliefs of the god on his bull and his partner on her hind, a bronze tablet inscribed *I. O. M. Dol.* | *Aur. Basisus sac.* | *seruus eius*, and the left half of another bronze tablet with the *pointillée* inscription *I. O. [M. Dol.] | Fl. Sabin[us ..] | Valeria I[. .] | Tinsadno .. | suo ex iusso [dei]*).

i. 611 f. eagle between horns of bull and on short column beneath bull. Perhaps cp. the terra-cotta group published in pl. lxxvii, *a* and *b*.

i. 619 n. 4. A rosette on the forehead of a bull is a commonplace in ancient art: see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480, 1914 ii. 3. 1310. A couple of examples will suffice. A gold earring of Greek work (5. iv—iii B.C.), found in Palestine and now in my possession, shows a bull's head with a spiral rosette on the forehead. A gold strap-buckle of the La Tène period, found in the tomb of Chilperich I at Tournai in 1653 and stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831, had also a spiral rosette on the forehead (F. Dahn *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* Berlin 1883 iii. 480 fig. 18 f., J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 3. 1308 fig. 570, 2). Both are possibly symbolic.

S. Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain* Beyrouth 1937 p. 51 ff. publishes a pair of monuments from the Haurán. A basalt *stèle* (0·875^m high) from Tell Aš'ari near Tafas, now in the Museum at Dama-kos, shows a bull-headed god *en face*. His horns make a large crescent enclosing a rosette. Under his left arm is a smaller rosette. And across his body is a sword (pl. 14 *bis*, 51 and 52). An almost exact replica of this relief (0·80^m high) is to be seen in a niche at 'Awas south of Salhad (fig. 12). Ronzevalle cp. a square altar of basalt (0·88^m high) from Salhad, on which a bull's head appears in relief between the two parts of a Greek dedication to *Zeús mégas ó kýrios* (M. Dunand *Le Musée de Soueida: Inscriptions et monuments figurés* Paris 1934 p. 99 no. 200 Δι μεγάλω τῷ κυρίῳ | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας | Μουίμου Βασιλίσκου Κ[ίρ]ου . . . Άνος οικόδομος εὐσεβῶν ἐπόησε).

i. 624 the Milky Way and Hera. So in Siberian mythology a Buriat tale explains the Milky Way as the overflow from the breasts of the Heaven-goddess Manzan Gormo (C. Holmberg *Finnno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology* Boston 1927 pp. 414, 434).

i. 625 n. 1 the stars as flowers. Cp. Basil. *hom. in hexacem.* 6. 1 (xxix. 117 C Migne) *τίς ο τοῖς ἀνθέσι τοῖτοῖς διαποικίλας τὸν οὐρανὸν* and the remarks of A. von Humboldt *Cosmos* trans. E. C. Otté London 1849 ii. 395.

i. 626 the Byzantine list of planets, metals, plants, and animals. S. Langdon in the *Museum Journal University of Pennsylvania* 1918 ix. 151—156 with fig. describes a Babylonian tablet of c. 1600 B.C. dealing with symbolism in the Cassite period. W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 179 summarises: 'The text explains the divine powers which are controlled or symbolized by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhabursildu, queen of incantations; the tamarisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Urasha, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess.' Prof. Langdon adds in a letter of Oct. 31, 1919: 'the sky god is symbolized by silver . . . because for astronomical reasons the Moon (or the silver god) was identified with the sky god at the summer solstice.' See further C. O. Zuretti *Alchemistica signa* (*Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs* viii) Bruxelles 1932 p. 1 ff.

i. 626 ff. Akin to the silvered or gilded plates of Iupiter *Dolichenus* is one of *repoussé* bronze, found by E. Cunnington in 1882 at the Romano-Celtic temple in Maiden Castle and now in the Museum at Dorchester (fig. 877, *a* front, *b* back, from the official photographs). It represents Minerva standing *en face* with helmet, spear, Gorgon's head, and shield, the whole on a raised oblong surrounded by the usual spear-head and lily-work (R. E. M. Wheeler in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1935 xv. 272). At the bottom edge are the remains of one or two letters, part of a lost inscription (Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in a communication dated March 20, 1938). Minerva is known elsewhere on the plates of *Dolichenus* (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487, 619 with fig. 490), and it is conceivable that the cult of this maiden goddess, domiciled in the fourth-century temple (for which see R. E. M.

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a



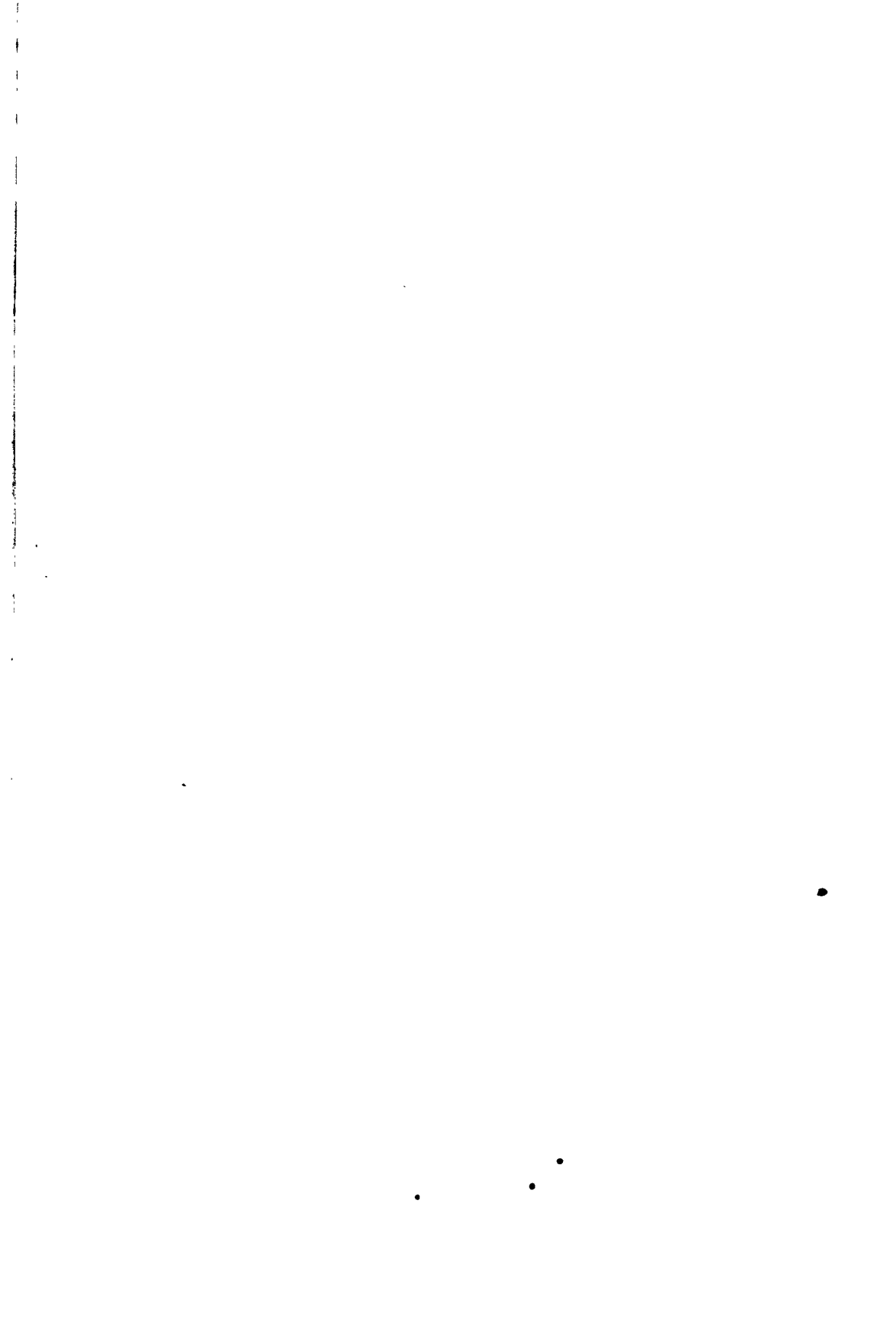
b

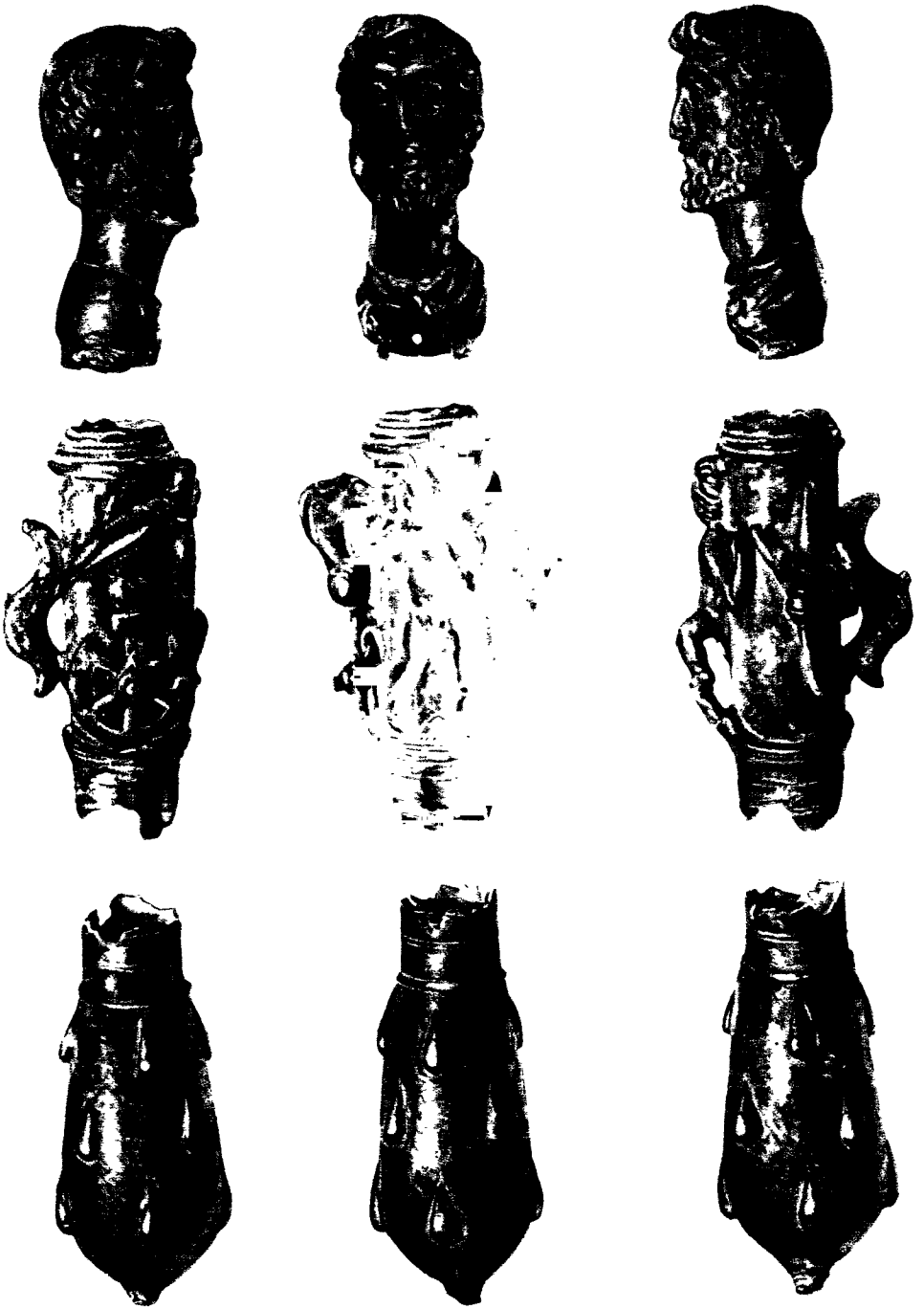
Terra-cotta group in the British Museum, possibly connected with the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus* (?).

See page 1098.

I am indebted to Mr C. M. Robertson for the following official description: '1907. 5—20. 69 Terracotta eagle with wreath in beak standing on bull's head, all on a flat square base. This now stands on a terra-cotta column, but it is not certain that they originally belonged together, though both are no doubt antique. They were acquired among a large collection formed at Ode-sa from excavations of tombs at Olbia.'







A bronze mace from Willingham Fen,
now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge.

See plate 1099 f.

Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 270 ff. pls. 33, 34, 2, 37, 38, 2, Miss M. V. Taylor in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1935 xxv. 220 f. pls. 40 and 41, 1. *ead. ib.* 1937 xxvii. 242 f.), contributed something to the popular etymology of *Maiden* (properly *Mai-Dun*) Castle. The temple itself may have been that of *Dolichenus*, a Celtic form of whom is suggested by a votive offering found in 1934 just outside the south-east corner of the building, *viz.* a three-horned bull (*supra* i. 639) made of tinned bronze and bearing a triad of busts, one *minus* its head (R. E. M. Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 272 pl. 39 (=my fig. 878), Miss M. V. Taylor *loc. cit.* p. 220 pl. 41, 2).

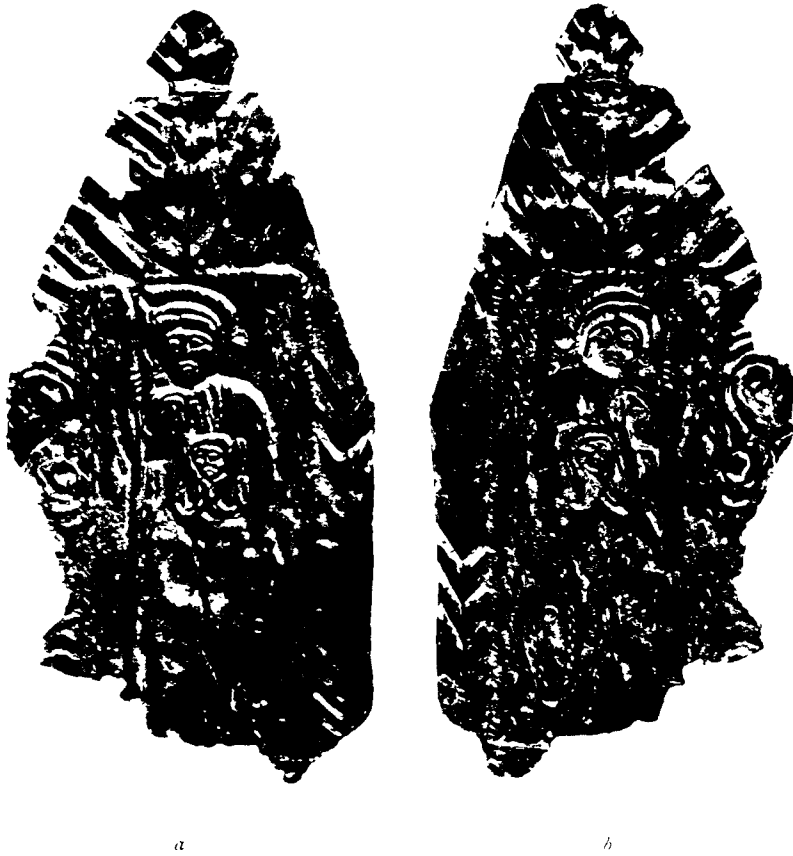


Fig. 877.

Another power associated with *Dolichenus* in the Celtic area as a pendant to Minerva with her spear was Hercules with his club (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487). And here we must take into account the interesting bronze mace found in 1857 by a ploughman on Willingham Fen, ten miles north-west of Cambridge (M. Rostovtseff—M. V. Taylor 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1923 xiii. 91 ff. pl. 3 (inadequate), L. C. G. Clarke in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1926 vi. 178 f. pl. 31, F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. A. 925 f. *id.* in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1935—1936 xxxvii. 56 ff. pl. 4, b). The mace had been deliberately broken, perhaps by way of *damnatio memoriae* after Commodus' assassination in 192 A.D., and enclosed in a wooden chest along with a number of votive bronzes—soldiers on horseback, a bull's head, an eagle, an owl, etc. The three fragments of the mace, which together measure c. 0.345^m in height and had once a

wooden core, are decorated as follows (pl. LXXVIII): (1) A bust of Commodus, wearing the *paludamentum*, forms the handle. (2) On the shaft is a nude beardless god with right hand uplifted (as if to brandish a bolt) and left hand raised (as if to hold a sceptre or spear). He sets his left foot on the bearded (?) head of a giant emerging from the ground. To the left an eagle, now headless, is perched on a globe, which rests on a six-spoked wheel marked with rays. To the right projects the head of a bull with three horns, one of which is now broken off. At the back plunges a dolphin. (3) The mace terminates as a knotted club. It is clear that the artist was primarily concerned to identify Commodus with Hercules (*supra* ii. 255 n. o, 903 n. 2). But, since Commodus also posed as a youthful Jupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre (*supra* i. 276 n. 5



Fig. 878.

fig. 202, ii. 1185 figs. 987, 988), a corresponding figure appears on the shaft. Further syncretism equates this Jupiter with the Germanic Ziu, the victorious rider of the Jupiter-column, who tramples his giant under foot (*supra* ii. 74 ff.). It equips him also with the eagle-on-globe and the radiate wheel as a sky-god, with the three-horned bull perhaps as an earth-god (? *Dis pater*). But F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2281 f., 2453 ff. stresses 'Beziehungen zur Wassertiefe' and suspects connexion with Tarvos *Trigaranus* (*supra* i. 482 n. o)), and even with the dolphin as a sea-god—thereby completing his claim to universal dominion.

¹ 630 ff. 'where iron is born.' M. P. Charlesworth in a note to me (Oct. 29, 1934) cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 118 Iuba minum nasci et in Carmania tradit, Timagenes et in Aethiopia, etc. But a closer parallel is furnished by the *Kalevala* runo 9. 25 ff. Kirby, where Vainamoinen says 'Well I know the birth of Iron, And how steel was first created.' He goes on to tell how—

- Ukko, God of realms supernal,
 40 Rubbed his mighty hands together.
 Both his hands he rubbed together,
 On his left knee then he pressed them,
 And three maidens were created,
 Three fair Daughters of Creation,
 Mothers of the rust of Iron,
 And of blue-mouthed steel the fosterers.
 Strolled the maids with faltering foot-steps
 On the borders of the cloudlets,
 And their full breasts were o'erflowing,
 50 And their nipples pained them sorely.
 Down on earth their milk ran over,
 From their breasts' o'erflowing fulness,
 Milk on land, and milk on marshes,
 Milk upon the peaceful waters.
 Black milk from the first was flowing,
 From the eldest of the maidens,
 White milk issued from another,
 From the second of the maidens,
 Red milk by the third was yielded,
 60 By the youngest of the maidens.
 Where the black milk had been dropping,
 There was found the softest Iron,
 Where the white milk had been flowing,
 There the hardest steel was fashioned,
 Where the red milk had been trickling,
 There was undeveloped Iron.

i. 631 n. 8. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 315 notes: "Αἰὲθῆ, or rather Αἰὲθῆ, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "the land of the Halys," just as 'Αρῆθ[η] corresponds with Arzawa. The Hahzonians are the Khalitu of a (cuneiform) inscription of the proto-Armenian king Rusal II. (B.C. 680), who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khalitu." The silver-mines of the Taurus, which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world. Hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it.' Cp. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 169 n. 2. More hazardous conjectures in J. Kaest *Die vorgegeschichtlichen Mittelmeerölker* Heidelberg 1931 pp. 71 f., 254, 348.

i. 632 n. 5. Add Iul. Obs. 39 (Lycosthenes) mures in aede Iovis aurum roserunt.

i. 633 ff. The monograph of L. Malten 'Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 90—139 has a useful collection of evidence from Egypt (pp. 92—98 figs. 1—11), Mesopotamia (pp. 98—107 figs. 12—27), Asia Minor (pp. 107—114 figs. 28—41), Syria (pp. 114—117 figs. 42—51), Palestine (pp. 117—119 figs. 52—54), Phoinike (p. 120 fig. 55), Crete (pp. 121—137 figs. 56—89), a brief notice of survivals in classical cults and myths (p. 137 f.), and some consideration of the Bull's significance from first to last (p. 138 f.).

i. 636 bull with body-marks. The best example is one from Ur published by C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1923 iii. 331 pl. 34 fig. 1, a: 'U 239 is a part of a shallow bowl of steatite originally surrounded by four bulls, of which one is preserved intact. The carving is remarkably good; the ground is inlaid in ivory with designs of sun, moon and stars; on the bull's body are trefoil marks resembling those on the Hathor cows of Egypt, on its shoulder and leg round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Wain; it is the "great Bull of Heaven." A fragmentary inscription assigns it to the Third Dynasty.' Mr Sidney Smith kindly informs me (March 24, 1938) that the original is in the Baghdad Museum and should be dated c. 2200 B.C. or a little earlier: he adds that there is a poor cast of it in the British Museum. P. S. Bartoli *Museo. Odes. al. hum.* Romæ 1752 ii. 99 ff. pl. 42 shows a marble base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a crescent moon ☾, and above him the inscription BVE API. *Id. ib.* ii. 122 pl. 53 shows a similar (other surface of same) base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a six-rayed star.

i. 638 bull in bowl surrounded by millet. Cp. perhaps the seated goddesses (of fertility?) and other discoid figures in clay found along with grains of barley, beans, and peas in urns of the Bronze Age at Tarxien, Malta (Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta*

Oxford 1930 p. 48 ff. pls. 15, 1, 16 and figs. 3—10, G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 366).

i. 638 f. H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 14, 1935 p. 430 fig. 6 publishes the ornament from a Sumerian harp of c. 3000 B.C., which was found at Khafaje, Iraq. It is a bull's head in copper with inlaid eyes and forehead. The white of the eyes is shell, the iris lapis lazuli, and the triangle on the forehead mother-of-pearl.

i. 639 n. 2 the Celtic cult of bulls. See now an important paper by A. D. Lacaille 'The Bull in Scottish Folklore, Place-names, and Archaeology' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 221—248 pls. 3—8, F. M. Heichelheim s.v. 'Tavros Trigaranus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2453—2457, Wirth s.v. 'Stier' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 viii 482—486.

i. 639 n. 4. Cp. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xliiv. 4.

i. 642 n. 4. On Zeus as 'tyrant' in Aisch. *P. v.* see G. Thomson 'Zeus Týrannos' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 3—5.

i. 643 Mount Tábör. See further J. Boehmer 'Der Name Tabor' in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 1929 vii. 161—169, O. Eissfeldt in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 25 n. 3.

i. 643. Soph. *frag.* 348 Dindorf (assigned to the *Λημνία*), 708 Nauck², 776 Jebb *ap. schol. vet.* Theokr. 7. 76/77 d. and *ap. et. mag.* p. 26, 16 ff. Ἄθως σκιάζει νότα Λημνίας βοός (so, without Sophokles' name, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 96, 17 ff., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἄθως, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 980, 45 f. Schol. B. L. V. *Il.* 14. 229 ὄρα for νότα!) already implies the proverb which later writers commonly quote as Ἄθως καλύπτει πλευρά Λημνίας βοός (Greg. Kypri. 1. 73, *alii*. A Latin form of it perhaps in Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 25 'cornu <t>a taurum umbram iaci', which O. Ribbeck *Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 311 would restore as '<Atós> in cornuátam taurum umbrám iacit'). Pseudoepigraphers etc. explain that the allusion is to the shadow of Mt Athos which touched a white marble cow on Lemnos (Makar. 1. 46, Apostol. 1. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 25 Walz, Soud. *s.v.* Ἄθως). Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 22 and *et. mag.* p. 26, 17 f. state, with greater probability, that the cow was of bronze. Others add that the shadow at the solstice reached the marketplace of Myrina (Ap. Rhod. 1. 601 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 73, Solin. 11. 33, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 5. 49 ff.). The fullest discussion of the facts is that of A. C. Pearson in his edition of *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 iii. 26 f. It is tempting to conjecture that the bronze cow of Lemnos, thus associated with sun and shadow, was akin to the bronze cattle of Mt Atabyron. If so, it had a Hittite ancestry.

i. 643 the bull of Perillos. On the bull-headed furnace at Byzantium, known as ὁ Βοῦς and used for the burning of criminals, see E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1072. The principal text is Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitani* 25 D—26 A (p. 46 Bekker) = Anonymos *πάτρια* 2. 53 (p. 180, 8 ff. Preger) *περὶ τοῦ Βοός. εἰς δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Βοῦν κάμνος ἦν ἐκείσε παμμεγέθης ἐκτισμένη βοός ἔχουσα κεφαλὴν· ἐνθα καὶ οἱ κακοῦργοι ἐτιμωροῦντο: ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς προφάσει τῶν καταδίκων πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατέκαυσεν Χριστιανοὺς. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμνος βοός τύπος παμμεγεστώτου θεάματος: οἱ κατὰ μῆσιν καὶ ἐν τῷ Νεωρίῳ βοὺς ἀπετυπώθη. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμνος ἕως Φωκᾶ (602—610 A.D.), ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ηρακλείου (610—641 A.D.) ἔχωνεῦθη λύγῳ φάλλεων. This bronze Bull is said to have been brought from Pergamon, where it had been used for the martyrdom of Antipas (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 B (i. 566 Bekker) *ὅτι ὁ χαλκοῦς βοὺς ἐκ Περγάμου ἦλθε, κάμνος δὲ ἦν ἐν ἣ πέφλεκται ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς Ἀντίπας*, Zonar. 14. 14 (iii. 304, 11 ff. Dindorf) *τὸ δὲ δύστηνον σῶμα (sc. of Phokas) καυθῆναι κατὰ τὸν Βοῦν, ἐνθα κάμνος ἦν, ὡς λέγεται, ἐκ χαλκοῦ κατεσκευασμένη, σχῆμα βοός ἔχουσα, ἥπερ ἐκ Περγάμου ἐκόμιστο, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τόπος ὠνόμαστο*). A. G. Sofiano *Pergame Moderne et Antique* Athènes 1930 p. 111 figures St Antipas being burnt in the copper bull, and *ib.* p. 112 observes: 'Ce bœuf avait été élevé par Attale I^{er} en mémoire de sa victoire sur les Galates; plus tard, il fut transporté à Constantinople où on le fit servir à diverses exécutions: y furent brûlés, entre autres, Théodore et Stéphane, ministres de Justinien.' See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iv. 136 S. Antipas (April 11), 304 S. George of Cappadocia (April 23), v. 66 S. Pelagia (May 4), x. 319 SS. Eustathius, Theopista, Agapius, Theopistus (Sept. 20). The last-mentioned holocaust is figured in the *Ecclésiast militantis triumpho* Paris s.a. pl. 9.*

A final trace of the Hittite bull-cult, drawn from some classical source and modified by mediaeval imagination, may be detected in *Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal* trans. S. Evans London 1903 p. 214 ff. Branch 18 Title 9 '...he came to the Castle of Copper. Within the castle were a number of folk that worshipped the bull of copper and believed not in any other God. The bull of copper was in the midst of the castle

upon four columns of copper, and bellowed so loud at all hours of the day that it was heard for a league round about, and there was an evil spirit within that gave answers...' with the sequel.

i. 645 n. 4 on the 'shields' of the Idaean Cave see also F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923, 24 xxxviii/xix. 211 ff.

i. 648 Orphism in Crete. Cp. O. Kern 'Orphiker auf Kreta' in *Hermes* 1916 li. 554—567 and the satisfactory handling of the whole matter by W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 pp. 108 ff., 146 f.

1. 650 n. 1 the *βόμβος* or 'bull-roarer.' See further R. Battaglia 'Sopravvivenze del rombo nelle Provincie Venete' in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1925 i. 3. 190—217 with 7 figs., A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΥΓΞ, ΠΟΜΒΟΣ, RHOMBUS, TURBO' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with figs. 1—11.

1. 651 n. 1 *Zagreus* as the god 'of Mt *Zagros*.' The same derivation is propounded independently by F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* Munchen 1926 p. 721 n. 3.

i. 653 the Praxians sacrifice to a pig. Cp. Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 Ἀσούριοι περιστερᾶ (sc. θύοντες).

1. 655 on the etymology of *Titan*. A. Nehring 'Griechisch τίταξ, τιτήνη und ein vorgriechisches k-Suffix' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 153—192 discussing *inter alia* the word *Títān*, *Títēn* (p. 167 ff.) postulates an original *Títān* as a 'Lallwort' meaning 'Vater' 'Vaterchen,' cp. *τίταξ, τίταξ* (Hesych. s.v. *τίταξ* cited *supra* i. 655 n. 2) and relates the whole group to Etruscan and the languages of Asia Minor.

i. 657 n. 2 *Minos* *δλοόφρων*. K. Marót 'Ἄτλας δλοόφρων' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 22, 1926 pp. 585—590 concludes 'dass sich das Epitheton des Atlas *δλοόφρων* nicht auf eine moralische Schuld, sondern bloss auf die Boshaftigkeit eines "Taters," d. h. auf ein mythisch-vorethisches "Verderbensinnen" beziehen kann.'

i. 662. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 *pro tumulo extruit templum* and *deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam* by translating 'he built a temple in place of a tomb' and 'has made a god out of one who was not able to find burial.'

i. 664 n. 1 on Epimenides *περὶ Μίνω καὶ Παδαμάνθω*. Further discussion by H. Gressmann in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 26, 1913 pp. 935—938, J. Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1915 pp. 29—35, T. Nicklin in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 33—37, Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 32—39.

1. 665 ff. on the origin of tragedy. My hypothesis is dismissed with little argument but much contumely by K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1952 f. Greater weight attaches to the courteous and clear-headed *critique* of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 208—220—in a context neatly summarised by Pfister *Rel. Gr. Rom.* 1930 p. 229 'Bei der Behandlung der Tragödie schätzt er (m. E. mit Recht) gegen v. Wilamowitz und Kranz das Zeugnis des Aristoteles sehr gering ein und verwirft die Hypothesen von der Entstehung der Tragödie, die Ridgeway (aus dem Heroenkult), Murray (aus *δρώμενα* zu Ehren des Dionysos) und Cook (aus dem kretischen Ritual der Dionysos-Zagreus) aufgestellt haben, und ist selbst der Ansicht, dass die Tragödie nicht aus dem Satyrspiel stammt, dass *τραγῳδός* "singer at the goat-sacrifice" oder "singer for the goat-prize" bedeutet. Bei Behandlung der Komödie wird der *κῶμος*, aus dem sie entstand, ausführlich besprochen und Cornford's Hypothese (Entstehung aus einem Ritual, das dem Jahresdämon galt) widerlegt.'

i. 671 pillar with Dionysiac mask or masks. See now W. Wrede 'Der Maskengott' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1928 lvi. 66—95 with pls. 1—4, supplementary pls. 21—28, and figs. 1—4 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 554 f.).

An oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 243) *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 1. 24 p. 102, 11 f. Stählin has *στόλος Θηβαίοισι Διώνυσος πολυγηθής*, cp. Eur. *Antiope frag.* 203 Nauck² *ap. Clem. Al. loc. cit.* p. 102, 13 ff. Stählin *ένδον δὲ θαλάμοις βουκόλων | κομῶντα κισσῶ στόλον Εἰῶν θεοῦ*.

1. 674. Apollodoros of Athens no doubt lived in 'The second century B.C.' and wrote his great work *περὶ θεῶν* in 24 books (R. Munzel *De Apollodori περὶ θεῶν libri* Bonnae 1883 pp. 1—35, W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* Munchen 1920 ii. 1. 395 f.). But the extant *βιβλιοθήκη*, long attributed to him, is now believed to be a work of Hadrianic date based on a handbook of mythology compiled between 100 and 55 B.C. (C. Robert *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* Berolini 1873 pp. 1—91, E. Schwartz in

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2875 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 137, Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* New York i p. ix ff.).

i. 675 the caldron of divinisation in the cult of Leukothea. See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44, especially p. 42 f.

i. 675 Dionysos done to death as a kid by worshippers who took the name of 'kids'? An interesting Scandinavian parallel is the *Bukkevise* described by B. S. Philippotts *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* Cambridge 1920 p. 125 f.: 'The performers are three boys, two of whom personate "father and son," while the third is dressed up as a goat. The doggerel recited by the "father and son" is corrupt, but it recounts the slaughter of the goat and its resurrection, and this is accompanied by appropriate action on the part of the third performer. The Norwegian verses appear to retain a memory of the partition of the goat-skin: "how much wilt thou give for the goat its skin?—wool?" We have here another case of the actual performances of a slaying and resurrection, with the additional primitive feature of a beast-skin disguise shed by the victim and at one time apparently allotted to one of the persons present.' Cp. E. K. Chambers *The English Folk-play* Oxford 1933 p. 211: 'Perhaps, therefore, we may go a step further, and guess at the existence of some original European *ludus*, with just this Mock Death and Revival as its central point and with men dressed as animals for its performers.'

i. 677 n. o. K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 160 found at *Kaleh* near Temenothyrai 'ein marmornes, dem *Zeus Galaktios* geweihtes Altarchen' and inferred that the site bore the name Galaktion—an inference accepted by L. Burchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 514. See also J. Keil in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* Manchester 1923 p. 260 no. 8, E. Fehle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 615.

i. 677 n. 4 the Lupercalia. See further G. F. Unger 'Die Lupercalien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 50—86, W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 pp. 72—155 ('Die Lupercalien'), J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398—1402 s.vv. 'Lupercalia, Luperca, Luperca, Luperca,' E. Lefebvre 'Le bouc des Lupercales' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lix. 73—81, W. F. Otto 'Die Luperca und die Feiern der Lupercalien' in *Philologus* 1913 N.F. xxvi. 161—195, Alberta Mildred Franklin *The Lupercalia* New York: Columbia University 1921 pp. 1—106, A. Marbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 1815 f. s.v. 'Luperca,' 1816—1830 s.v. 'Lupercalia,' 1830—1834 s.v. 'Luperca,' 1834—1839 s.v. 'Luperca,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 206—217.

No ancient representation of the Luperalia is known. Reinach *Œuvres Gravées* p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 'Sacrifice des Lupercales,' a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévesque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

i. 679. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 132 adds 'the *Bassarids* of Ae-chylus which told of the dis-memberment of Orpheus.'

A doublet of the myth of Pelias may perhaps be seen in that of Minos done to death in a hot bath at Kamikos by Kokalos or his daughters (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 360. Poland in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 1918 f.).

i. 681 n. 4 *Διθύραμβος*. The suffix is discussed by H. Petersson 'Die altindischen Wörter auf -amba' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1924 xxxiv. 222—249.

Zacher 'Die Ursprünge und der Name des Iambus' in the *Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 1904 lxxxii Abteilung iv. 3 f. hit upon a derivation of *Διθύραμβος* near akin to mine: 'Endlich müsste *διθύραμβος* sein = *ὁ διθύραμβος*. d. h. wohl den *Διθύρος* besingend. *Διθύρος* konnte eine Nebenform von *Διόνυσος* sein, und wie dieses bedeuten "Sohn des Zeus" (*θύρος* von *θορεῖν*? *θύρος* die Zeugungsrute?).' This acute conjecture is too summarily dismissed by Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 188.

W. M. Calder 'The Dithyramb—an Anatolian Dirge' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 11—14, dissatisfied with all previous views, mine included, proposed to connect *διθύραμβος* with two Phrygian words or loan-words *διθρερα* and *διθρεψα*. The first of these occurs in an inscription from Tyriaion (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 121 f. no. 67 = J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 132 f. no. 31), the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 188 ff. no. 49 = J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 135 no. 49). It is claimed that '*διθρερα* must be a noun, and *διθρεψα* must be either a noun or an adjective meaning "monument" or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic,' possibly the "double door" (*δι + θρερα* = *διθραρα*, *θύρα*, *fores*) of the Phrygian family-tomb 'symbolically leading in two directions—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.' On this showing *διθύραμβος* means "grave-song" or "dirge," and we must regard the *θηρήων ἐξάρχους* of *Il.* 24. 721 as the counterpart cf *τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον* in Aristot. *poet.* 4 1449a 11.

Calder's explanation, though ingenious and attractive, is however—as he frankly admits—beset by difficulties and uncertainties. Moreover it seems hard to reconcile with the Platonic equation *διθύραμβος* = *Διονύσου γένεσις* (*supra* i. 682 n. 1). Are we to assume that the 'dirge' dealt with Dionysos' birth, and compare the funeral character of the Attic *Γενέσια* (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1131, *id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*³ München 1920 p. 227 f.)? Or to argue with J. A. K. Thomson (in a letter to Jane Harrison dated March 31, 1921) 'that the Dithyramb celebrated the *γένεσις* of Dionysos, his grave-ritual. . . The Early Christians celebrated the *γένεσις* or *γενέθλια*, "birth-day," of a martyr on the day of his martyrdom, because he was then truly born—"born again"?'

Calder returns to the charge in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 214 with a shrewd emendation of Glaukos Rhég. *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 24 Muller) *ap.* [Plout.] *de musica* 10 ἥρωικῶν γὰρ ὑποθέσεων σπαράγματα (for πράγματα codd.) ἐχουσῶν κ.τ.λ. 'For such was the theme of the dithyramb (*διασπασμὸν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν*) according to Plutarch *de Ei apud Delphos* 389 A.'

W. Brandenstein in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1936 liv. 34—38 would interpret *ταμβος*, *θρίαμβος*, *διθύραμβος* as 'Zweischritt, Dreischritt, Vier-schritt.'

i. 682 n. 1. Of the three Pindaric dithyrambs published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 27 ff. no. 1604 one (O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 5 f. *frag.* 70^a) describes a festival of Dionysos held by the gods in heaven, another (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 *frag.* 70^b) speaks of a Dionysiac banquet, and the third (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 f. *frag.* 70^c) must also be concerned with the same deity since it mentions wreaths of ivy. See further J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 pp. 48—51.

Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 5 *Διογενῆ, διγονον, διθύραμβογενῆ, Διονύσον, ἰθ. 19 Σεμελη-γενέτην, Σεμελῆα.*

i. 684 n. 11. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 65 f. pl. 3, 1 and 3, thinks that this vase represents the Haloia and cites modern usage in Herzegovina ('hier stellt man, wenn die Wintersaat aufgeht, auf dem Felde durch eine tiefe Furche den Umriss eines eiiigierten Phallos mit Hoden her. Diese Form des Fruchtbarkeitszaubers wurde fruher auf dem Balkan allgemein angewandt' (Vgl. R. N. Salaman, *Man* 30, 1930, 48)).

i. 684 date of the ritual marriage unknown. L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 177 ff. argues that the marriage of Dionysos and the *Basilinna* is both represented (figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16) and parodied (fig. 6, cp. fig. 19) on the 'Choekannen' and must therefore have taken place 'am Choentage' (Anthesterion 12). But the argument is insecure, for—as Deubner himself admits (*Attische Feste* p. 97)—'Nicht alle Bilder, mit denen die grossen oder kleinen Kannen der typischen Choeform geschmückt sind (es sind jetzt 300—400 bekannt), brauchen sich auf das Choefest zu beziehen.' And it remains possible to urge that these little vases are simply children's toys, often decorated with Dionysiac scenes, but not necessarily illustrative of the *Chês*.

i. 687 n. 3 trees planted on graves as a vehicle for the soul. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 790 n. 1 gives further references for this folk-belief. See also H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 955 'Der B[aum], der aus der Erde hervorsprosst, und besonders der aus den Grabern Verstorbener hervorstwachsende B[aum] soll die Seele beherbergen.'

i. 689 n. 5 the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthios slain by the Neleid Melanthos with the aid of Dionysos *Melinaigs*. A doublet in Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 13 ἐκ δὲ τούτου μονομαχοῦσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰναχιδῶν Ἰπέρροχον ὁ τῶν Αἰνιάνων Φήμιος ὁρῶν μετὰ κυνὸς αὐτῷ προσφερόμενον οὐκ ἔφη δίκαια ποιεῖν, δεύτερον ἐπάγοντα μαχόμενον· ἀπειλαινοῦτος δὲ τοῦ Ἰπέρροχου τὸν κύνα καὶ μεταστρεφόμενον, λίθῳ βαλὼν ὁ Φήμιος αὐτὸν ἀναίρει. κτησάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν, τοὺς Ἰναχιδεῖς μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκείνον ὡς ἱερὸν σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῷ δημῷ περικαλύπτουσιν. W. R. Halliday 'Xanthos—Melanthos and the Origin of Tragedy' in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 179—181 and in his note on Plout. *loc. cit.* thinks that both the Attic and the Boeotian tale were 'a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.'

i. 694. A. J. B. Wace 'More Mummung Plays' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913 xix. 248—265 figs. 1—6 concludes 'That the festival is really a winter festival and has in different places been transferred to a different season. Secondly, that it is by no means a typically Greek festival, for it occurs only in North Greece where there is much mixed blood, and is known to almost all the other South Balkan races.'

i. 695 Athenian substitute for dramatic omophagy. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 108 cites a newly discovered note of Fest. in Isid. *orig.* 8. 7. 6 Ho.

Hyginus (*eginus* cod.) primum frusta[m] hircinae carnis praemium accepisse dicit et inde nomen traxisse, scilicet a trago quem Latini hircum vocant.

i. 697 n. 4. P. Kretschmer comments on Σιλῆος again in *Glotta* 1915 vi. 308. But F. Solmsen 'Σιλῆος Σάτυρος Τίτυρος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 1—47 connects the word with *σῆλος, *silus*, a by-form of σῆμος, 'snub-nosed.'

i. 698 n. 1. No. (10) is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: see Miss M. H. Swindler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1915 xix. 412 ff. figs. 8 and 9, L. D. Caskey *ib.* 1918 xxii. 110 f. fig. 3. J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 130 f. fig. 81 (the 'Penthesilea Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 339 no. 10. J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 52. Add no. (16) Red-figured *kylix* in the Museo Villa Giulia at Rome (E. Boehringer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 166 with fig. 29)=nude human figure with goatish head, horns, and tail dancing before Persephone, whose head emerges from the ground.

In the fourth century these goatish dancers were assimilated to the south-Italian Pan, e.g. on an 'Apulian' vase published by T. Panofka *Musée Blacas* Paris 1829 pl. 23 (F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 3 fig. 2) or on an Italiote bell-krater at Lecce published by Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 106 pl. 80. 3 (F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 106 fig. 144, L. Séchan in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* iv. 1044 fig. 6069). Yet A. Hartmann certainly goes too far when he says at the end of his article on 'Silenos und Satyros' in Pauly—Wiswasa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 53: 'So bleibt es dabei, dass die bocksartige Bildung von Satyrn erst ein Erzeugnis der in der hellenistischen Zeit aufkommenden Einmischung des Pantypus in den Satyr- und Silentypus ist.'

i. 700 n. 4. E. M. W. Tillyard has since discovered the faint inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΦΑΡΣΤΟΣ (*sic*), which makes it probable that the central figure is Hephaistos carrying his axe. If so, the scene shows Dionysos persuading Hephaistos to accompany him to Olympos—a scene perhaps drawn from Achaïos' satyr-play 'Ηφαιστος (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 750 f. Nauck²) (E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 79 ff. no. 136 pl. 23).

i. 704 early seal-stones portraying human goats etc. Any serious attempt to discuss these much-disputed figures must nowadays take into account analogous types found over a wide area of the ancient world. A sample or two will suffice to show the sort of data required. A whorl of green steatite from Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos shows a horned figure with human legs (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 118 fig. 52, a, *id.* *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* Oxford 1921 i. 69 fig. 38 A). A prism-seal in black steatite from Karnak shows a human figure with bovine head running (*id.* *Scripta Minoa* i. 123 fig. 58, c, *Palace of Minos* i. 69 fig. 38 B, c). Both these are assigned to the 'Early Minoan 1' period (3400—2800 B.C.). Sir J. Marshall *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* London 1931 ii. 389 fig. 356 on pl. 111 notes two human figures (from seals no. 227 and no. 230) with the hoof, horns, and tail of a bison. *Id. ib.* ii. 389 fig. 357 on pl. 111 gives a seal on which a similar figure is seen struggling with a fabulous horned tiger. Sir John compares the type with that of Enkidu the companion of Gilgames. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge on Oct. 31, 1928, quoted an 'ibex-headed man on a proto-Elamite tablet' and an 'animal-headed man on a seal from South Caucasus' as evidence of Mesopotamian priority to the fantastic sealings from Zakro (*supra* p. 845 n. 3) See also Addenda to i. 67 n. 3.

i. 705. R. C. Flickinger 'Tragedy and the Satyric Drama' in *Class. Philol.* 1913 viii. 261—283 (especially pp. 269—272) discusses the derivation of τραγωδία, defending the goat-prize tradition and rejecting the goat-men conjectures. *Id.* *The Greek Theater and its Drama* Chicago 1918 pp. 13—15, *ib.*³ 1936 pp. 13—15, maintains the same standpoint. E. Rostrup *Attic Tragedy in the light of Theatrical History* trans. I. Andersen Kjøbenhavn—Kristiania—London—Berlin 1923 p. 64 ff. denies the dancers 'costumed as he-goats' and holds, on anthropological grounds, that the τραγοί were young men who had undergone puberty-rites and were known by an animal name—the χοροί παιδῶν, χοροί τραγωδῶν, and χοροί ἀνδρῶν representing successive age-groups. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 149—166, after a careful discussion of all the possibilities, reverts to the view that τραγωδός may well mean 'singer at the goat-sacrifice' or 'singer for the goat-prize.' 'The two may even be reconciled, if the goat was first won and then sacrificed' (p. 165).

i. 706 Zeus *Asels*. W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 103 compares this appellative with an Old Phrygian text from *Euyuk* in Kappadokia (J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatis. he Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 127 no. 15 a. 3 περκοσασεμωρ), of which

he says: 'it can hardly be doubted that *terkos* is the "Hittite" *tarku* meaning "god" or a particular god, and it is very tempting to read the name of the god in the following letters. Whether we read *Asie kmor...* or *Asi ekmor...*, we appear to be dealing with the dative of the divine name *Asis*, which is attested elsewhere, and may be not unconnected with the name which the Greeks gave to the lands east of the Aegean.... Ramsay is probably right in taking **ACEIC** [*supra* i. 706 fig. 521] as a non-Phrygian name; if our interpretation of the Euyuk inscription is correct, *Asis* is the name of a god who belonged to the religion which the Phrygians found in the country when they entered it, and who was worshipped at the old Hittite centre of Euyuk at the date to which this inscription belongs. . . The name *Ἀσιοκόμη* expresses the proprietorship of the god *Asis* in a village on his estate, just as the village-name *Ἀτυοχώριον* in Phrygia indicates that the village belongs to *Atys*. In the Lydian genealogies *Asies* figures as the nephew or as the brother of *Atys* [E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1579 f., 2262]. The name *Atios* occurs on an Old-Phrygian inscription (if Phrygian it be) found by Garstang at Tyana [J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 127 no. 19 a, 3 *ασιου*, 5 *ασιος*] . . The name is written with the symbol *+*, which suggests that the names *Attis* and *Asis* were originally identical.' Not improbably, then (cp. *supra* ii. 293), **ZEUS ACEIC** meant *ab origine* 'Father' Zeus, while *Ἀσία* was the 'Fatherland.'

1. 707 n. 2 with fig. 524. This red-figured *hydria* from Girgenti is attributed to 'the Syleus Painter' (c. 480 B.C.) and perhaps shows Zeus bringing the infant Dionysos to the Nymphs. To the bibliography add J. de Witte in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836—1837 i. 357—372 pl. 9. Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 237, 1 and ii. 260, 1, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmanns-Fest-Program. Halle* 1885) p. 18 f., *ib.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 47, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 66 no. 1, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23.

1. 708 ff. E. Fiechter—R. Herbig *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen* Stuttgart 1935 ii (Die Skulpturen vom Bühnenhaus), 36 pls. 9—16 accept my interpretation of the reliefs from the stage of Phaidros, but regard my restorations as 'keineswegs immer glücklich.'

1. 709 n. 1 no distinctive art-type for *Hestia*. Yet see Porph. *op. Euseb. praep. ev.* 3. 11. 7 = *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 94 p. 139. 2 ff. Wunsch *καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς θείας δι' ἀνάγκης Ἑστία κέκληται, ἧς ἀγάλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ' ἑστίας ἰδρύεται καθ' ὃ δὲ γόνιμος ἦ δύναται, σημαίνουσιν αὐτῇ γυναικὸς εἶδος προμάστοι.*

1. 710 Aigeira. This town possessed a notable sanctuary of Zeus with a seated image of the god wrought in Pentelic marble by Eukleides of Athens (Paus. 7. 26. 4). Local coins issued by Septimius Severus and Plautilla show Zeus seated on a high-backed throne in the attitude of Zeus *Olympios* with Nike on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 17 no. 5 pl. 4, 10 Plautilla (my fig. 879 is from a cast), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 90 pl. S, 6 Plautilla, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 412). Portions of this cult-statue are still extant. O. Walter 'Ein Kolossalkopf des Zeus aus Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx. 1—14 figs. 1—9 pls. 1 (= my fig. 880) and 2 published the large head (height 0.87^m) which he had found on Aug. 31, 1916, inside the temple. The marble is hollowed at the back and, as the dowel-holes prove, was eked out before and behind with adjusted pieces. The eyes were inlaid. *Id.* 'Der Arm der Zeus-statue von Eukleides' *ib.* 1932 xxvii. 146—152 figs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of *Novvoka* in 1920 close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about thrice life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 480. O. Walter 'Eine archaologische Voruntersuchung in Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx Beiblatt pp. 5—42 figs. 1—26 and 'Verstuch-grabung in Aigeira' *ib.* 1932 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 223—234 figs. 109—115 gives a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large *podium* at the west end of the *cella* bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and

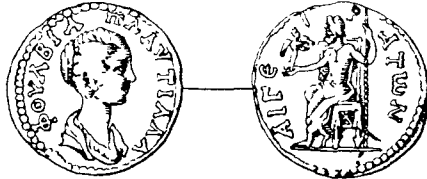


Fig. 879.

replaced by a life-sized figure, perhaps that of a Roman emperor. Otherwise we should have to conclude that the temple to which the big Zeus belonged is still to seek. Eukleides, to judge from the style and technique of this statue, may be regarded as a contemporary of Damophon and dated *c.* 200 B.C. (A. Hekler 'Eukleides' *ib.* 1922 xxxi—xxxii. 120—122), though O. Walter and G. Lippold would place him in the middle of the fourth century B.C. or a little later (Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. v. 220).



Fig. 880.

i. 710 Eros with crossed legs. On this attitude see W. Deonna 'Croiser les jambes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 344—352, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 502 f.

i. 710 Theseus. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 18 f. pl. 7, 2 takes this figure to be Nero (cp. E. Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 327 n. 2). In any case see Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 3078 pl. 200

Der Thron des Apollon' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 107—245 figs. 1—90 pls. 4—20, P. Bersakes 'Ο θρόνος τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος' in the *Ἀρχ.* 1912 pp. 183—192 figs. 1—26, W. Klein 'Zum Thron des Apollo von Amyklæe' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 6—13, E. Buschor—W. von Massow 'Vom Amyklaion' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1927 lii. 1—85 (especially p. 19) figs. 1—40 pls. 1—23 supplementary pls. 1—12.

i. 717 n. 2 bulls sacrificed to Zeus. Add Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 11 πρῶτον μὲν ἤγοντο τῷ Διὶ ταῦροι πᾶγκαλοι εἰς τέτταρας καὶ οἷς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο. Also the *Ταυροφόνια* at Mylasa (*supra* ii. 582 n. 5. iii. 570). See, however, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 12. 120 sic in Thracia civitatem condens Aeneas, quam mox fuerat relicurus, contra morem Iovi de tauro sacrificavit (*Aen.* 3. 20 f.), Isid. *orig.* 12. 1. 28 iuvenus dictus eo quod iuvare incipiat hominum usus in terra colenda (*supra* p. 591 n. 1), vel quia apud gentiles Iovi semper ubique iuvenus immolabatur et nunquam taurus. nam in victimis etiam aetas considerabatur.

i. 717 n. 3 goats sacrificed to Zeus. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 109 cites Fest. *in* Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 84 Ioui Cretenses capram immolabant.

i. 720 the golden hound of Crete. An Attic black-figured *skýphos* found at Kameiros and now in the Louvre (A 478) (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* i. 171, *id.* *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 20 pl. 17) is interpreted by L. D. Barnett in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 638 ff. as illustrating the discovery by Iris and Hermes of the golden hound in the house of Pandareos—an interpretation now commonly accepted (H. N. Fowler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 304, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1502 n. **, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 328).

i. 723 the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze. Miss van der Kolf in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2084 is disposed to adopt my explanation of the Talos-myth ('eine ansprechende Vermutung'), but regards both myth and method as 'ziemlich jung.' S. Casson *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* Oxford 1933 is more precise: 'One thing is certain—that the Minoans had no knowledge at all of hollow casting by the *cire-perdue* process' (cp. L. R. Fainell *supra* ii. 644 n. 1). But is that so certain? K. Kluge, our greatest authority on Greek bronzes, in his *Die antiken Grossbronzen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 91—102 ('Der antike Wachserguss') cites the pottery mould for an axe to be cast by the *cire perdue* process, which was found in the seventh stratum at Troy and is now in the Berlin Museum (W. Dorpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 405 fig. 404, 408 f. supplementary pl. 46, VIII a, VIII b). Again, Kluge 'Die Gestaltung des Erzes in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv. 1—30 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.) says (p. 6): 'Bereits in primitiven Kulturlagen—es sei an die Güsse von Benin erinnert—wird diese Methode des Wachsergusses beherrscht, und in der ägyptischen Kunst können wir den steilen Anstieg dieses Kennens verfolgen.' Indeed, Mr H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* Oct. 8, 1932 p. 528 figs. 7—9 shows a statuette from Khafaje in Iraq representing a bearded priest cast in bronze by the *cire perdue* process c. 3000 B. C. Mr Sidney Smith (Jan. 1, 1926) refers me further to F. Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 1924 xvi. 26 n. 3 and 155, who cites A. Ungnad in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Leipzig 1909 Heft viii. 51 no. 103 ('un ququrru reçoit 2/3 de mine de cire pour la fabrication d'une clé en métal; c'est le procédé de la cire perdue'). For modern *cire perdue* casting see A. Toft *Modelling and Sculpture* London 1911 pp. 187—191.

i. 723 n. 3. For proof that the Sardinians of the Bronze Age worshipped a bull-god in their subterranean temples see R. Pettazzoni 'Le antichità protosarde di Santa Vittoria' in the *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana* 1910 xxxv. 159—177, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1915 xxiii. 313—436 (especially p. 352 ff.), T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 22, 1920 p. 50, H. Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2488, J. Whatmough *The Foundations of Roman Italy* London 1937 p. 373 ('Of especial interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls' heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of "incubation"....').

i. 725 Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the saw. G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 189—194 figs. 1—5 pl. 25, A, B publishes a magnificent gold *bulia* of Etruscan workmanship, found near Ferrara (?) and now in the Walters Art

Gallery, Baltimore. Two archaic winged figures in relief, with incised retrograde inscriptions, show Daidalos (ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ) and Ikaros (ΙΚΑΡΟΣ), the former holding a saw in his left hand and an adze in his right, the latter a double axe and a square. E. Fiesel *loc. cit.* pp. 195—197 thinks that the inscription originated in Central Etruria, probably in the fifth century B.C. *Tuille* and *Vikare* are correct Etruscan forms of Δαίδαλος and Ίκαρος, the one being Greek, the other—to judge from the suffix -ap.—pre-Greek or Aegean. A cornelian scarab, from the Hamilton collection, now in London, again represents Daidalos, *Tuille* (?), as a beardless winged figure, flying above waves, with an adze in his right hand, a saw in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 67 no. 329 pl. E, *ib.*² p. 82 no. 663 pl. 11). A second cornelian scarab, from the Blacas collection, also in London, has a somewhat similar, but unscrubed, Daidalos flying with saw in right hand and adze (?) in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 68 no. 330 pl. E, *ib.*² p. 89 f. no. 727 pl. 12, cp. Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 19, 28, n. 93 ('Geflügelter Damon'), Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 25, 7 p. 171 ('Eros')). Lastly, a *stèle* from Bologna, assigned to the date 390—360 B.C., includes among its reliefs the same beardless Daidalos flying through the air with square and double axe in his right hand and saw in his left (E. Brizio in the *Not. Scavi* 1890 pp. 139—142 pl. 1, 3).

The art-type of the winged male figure posting through the sky with a double axe may be traced back to a very early date (sub-Minoan?) in the Archipelago: see the Melian (?) gem *supra* ii. 544 fig. 419. From Melos to Ikaros (Ikaria) is a bare hundred miles. Talos, Daidalos, and Ikaros were perhaps all originally independent but analogous figures (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 250 n. 2; Heeg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 986, G. M. A. Hanfmann *loc. cit.* p. 194), various forms taken by the winged sun-god.

i. 726 ff. Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the partridge. L. Mercklin *Die Talos-Sage und das sardonische Lachen in den Mémoires présentés à l'Académie impériale des sciences de St Pétersbourg par divers savants* Saint-Pétersbourg 1854 vii. 110 (74) n. 203 cp. the romantic tale of Meles and Timagoras (Paus. i. 30. 1) or Timagoras and Meletos (Soud. s.v. Μέληρος *ter*), on which see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2626 and Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 491 f. But this has been adequately explained on other lines by C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 101—104.

J. D. Beazley 'Icarus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 222—233 illustrates *inter alia* (p. 231 fig. 6) a small red-figured *lekythos* of c. 470 B.C., in New York, on which a winged youth sinking into the sea (?) has above his head a bird 'flying almost straight down'. 'The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' H. J. Rose 'Ikaros and Perdix on a Fifth-century Vase?' *ib.* 1928 xlviii. 9 f. acutely conjectures that the painter 'had in his mind the mythical Perdix.'

On *περδικιον* see R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1936 lvi. 8 (botanical identifications).

i. 732 Zeus paired with Selene Cp. S. Eitrem 'Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 18 n. 1.

i. 733 n. 6. On Zeus Νόσιος of Miletos see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 1053, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering Δι Νόσιω (in inscription no. 31, 9 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphinion), adds: 'Νόσιε findet sich dann noch in einer Inschrift nr. 186, einer "Schreibübung eines Steinmetzen," aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe. . . Auch v. Wilamowitz G G A 1914, 100 halt Δι Νόσιω für gesichert, fugt aber mit Recht hinzu: "es kann wohl nur ein νόσιος sein, so sehr es befremdet."'

i. 735 f. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a recumbent and sleeping Antiope (Sir J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *The Life and Times of Titian*² London 1881 ii. 317 with pl., J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1904 p. 57 f. with pl.).

H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3309 takes Sil. It. 3. 103 ff. (Iascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem) to mean that Melichos the horned king of Spain was the son of the nymph Myrike by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

Zeus Πειώλης is attested by Scholl—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. 'Ἐπιθερα Διός... 86 πειώλους, 266 Ἐπιθερα Διός. . 74 πειώλους. The epithet, a derivative of πέος (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 743 D—744 A), would suit a god of Satyr-like propensities, 'soll also wohl den Zeus als Gott der Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnen, wenn es nicht christlich-apologetischen Ursprungs ist' (O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1752).

i. 735 n. 3 Lykourgos. Bronze coins of Alexandria struck by Antoninus Pius represent Lykourgos with his double axe attacking Ambrosia, who according to Nonn. *Dion.*

21. 17 ff. was transformed by Gaia into a vine (K. D. Mylonas in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 1. 233 ff. (wrongly numbered 153 ff.) and J. N. Svoronos *ib.* p. 466 ff.).

i. 737 Epopeus as an embodiment of Zeus. To the same effect A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 106 n. 1.

i. 741 Aphrodite and her dove in Kypros. W. N. Bates 'Aphrodite's Doves at Paphos in 1932' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1932 liii. 260 f. notes that the church of St George at New Paphos, built over a temple of Aphrodite (?), has in front of its iconostasis five white doves, which hold in their beaks cords supporting lamps. A larger church recently erected in the neighbourhood again has the same arrangement of five white doves holding lamp-cords. Finally the twelfth-century monastery of St Neophytus, some seven miles from Kūma, can boast the bones of the saint kept in a wooden box made by himself. 'Above them is a sort of canopy surmounted by two rude wooden doves gilded.' Bates rightly concludes that 'Aphrodite's' doves still have a place in their ancient home.'

i. 741 n. 4 Zeus Μαξέης. Cp. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 49 n. 2: 'Auch in Μαξέίς: ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυγίῃ Hes. wird wohl nur der pers. *Aura-mitadā* zu erkennen sein, wie schon de Lagarde annahm.'

i. 744 n. 3. On the inscription here cited see further A. Brinkmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxxix. 585 f., M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 269.

i. 750. For the star on the shoulder of a lion cp. a basalt relief from the level of Thutmose iii (B.C. 1501—1447 Breasted) at Beisan, which shows two scenes of a lion attacked by a Molossian mastiff (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 n. 1047 with fig. 727: 'Nous noterons sur ce bas-relief une particularité de facture: à l'épaule du lion, les poils forment une sorte de rosace en étoile à raies courbes; on la retrouvera plus tard sur un lion d'Arslan-Tash; à Zendjirli la plupart des lions portent au même endroit du corps deux traits croisés en X').

i. 751 Zeus conceived as dwelling in the starry sky. Cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1106 ὁ τοῦ ἀστῆ ἀστρα Ζηὺς ἀθήθεις γόνος.

i. 753 Tios or Tion in Bithymia. L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1934 1. 93 f. figs. 1—5 gives an account of his visit to the place with views of its *akropolis* etc.

i. 754 Zeus ringed with the zodiac. R. Wood *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor of the Desert* London (1753) p. 45 pl. 19. A publishes the circular medallion of a ceiling, which shows Zeus surrounded by six deities and a zodiacal ring. The spandils are occupied by four eagles. The whole decorates the soffit of the temple of Sol at its southern end—a temple restored by Aurelian (see his letter to Cetrionus Bassus in Vopisc. 7. *Aurelian.* 31. 7 ff.).

i. 754 traces of astrology in early Greece. See A. Engelbrecht 'Vermeintliche Spuren altgriechischer Astrologie' in the *Eranos Lindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 125—130, who argues that there are 'von einer eigentlichen Astrologie mindestens bis zum vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert keine positiven, wohl aber negative Spuren in den Schriftwerken,' and W. Capelle 'Altteste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 373—395, who claims to find such traces in the Hippocratic *περί διαίτης* 4. 89 Littre (iv. 426 ff. Jones) at the end of 5. v B.C. and probably also in Demokrit. *ap. Aet.* 2. 15. 3 (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³ Berlin 1912 ii. 32).

i. 754 ff. Zeus as lord of the constellations. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelshilder* Berlin 1898 p. 90 fig. 17 (= my fig. 882) reproduces the fine illustration of Arat. *phaen.* 1 given in cod. Bonon. 188 fol. 20^v. An eagle with spread wings carries a thunderbolt in his claws and Zeus recumbent, with globe, sceptre, and rayed *nimbus*, on his back. Background blue, framework vermilion, eagle brownish yellow, flesh dark brown, *nimbus* and globe silver, diadem yellow, *himátion* rose.

i. 756 n. 6 Zeus Βῆλος. J. Cantaneau 'Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du temple de Bél' in *Syria* 1931 xii. 119 f. no. 3 publishes a bilingual inscription of the year 504 = 193 A. D., which (Greek 4 ff.) mentions an ἀρχιερεὺς κ[αί] | [σ]υμποσιαρχ[ης ἱερῶν] μεγίστου θεοῦ | Διὸς Βῆλου. See further P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 227.

i. 766 the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. C. Brakman 'De Iuturna et Dioscuris' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1931 lix. 427—430, following up the trail blazed by F. Altheim *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* Giessen 1930 pp. 4—39 ('Iuturna und die Dioskuren') [cp. F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 243—245], claims that the Etruscans when in Asia had taken over from Greeks or pre-Greeks the cult of the Dioskouroi. These they would have called **Diutures*, 'sons of Zeus,' cp. *Diuturna* [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3856] > *Iuturna*, 'daughter of Zeus,' hybrid formations. 'A stirpe **Diu* (Iove) per suffixum patronymicum -*tur* vel -*tur* derivatum

est **Diutur*, unde per Etruscum formans *-na* formatur *Diuturna*.. **Diutures* responderet igitur **Tyndarpos*, quod per prae-Graecum suffixum *-dap-* eandem vim habens atque Etruscum *-thur* vel *-tur* derivatum est a *Tiv*, quod idem est in lingua Etrusca valens *Δία*. Itaque *Tyndaroi* vel amphior forma Laconica *Tyndaridae* synonymum est Dioscurorum.'

But, if Brakman is indebted to Altheim, Altheim in turn owes much to others. G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. had already suggested that *Tyndaridae* or *Tyndaridai* was simply the Etruscan name for Zeus—*tin*, *tins*, *tuna*—with an Asia-Minor patronymic suffix *-dap-* and a Greek patronymic suffix *-id-* ('so hatten wir denn das spätere *Δίωσκούροι* für eine griechische Übersetzung des vorhellenischen Namens *Tyndaridae* anzusehen'). And P. Kretschmer in an article of cardinal importance



Fig. 882.

had proposed *ib.* p. 303 ff. *Tyndaridae* = Etruscan *Tin-* (Zeus) + Etruscan patronymic *-thur* or *-tur* (cp. *tynthur* as a personal name in a tomb-inscription at Naples). He supposes that the *θ* or *t* of the Etruscan suffix became *δ* under the influence of a personal name **Tyndarpos* related to the place-name *Tivdñ* as *Πίνδαρος* to *Πίνδος* or *Μίνδαρος* to *Μίνδη*. These northern names carry with them the northern suffix *-ap-* [cp. Addenda to 1. 725]. Kretschmer concludes *ib.* p. 308: 'Die vorgriechische Bevölkerung, in der die unidg. Urbevölkerung und die protidg. Zuwanderer verschmolzen waren, nannte also die mit Zeus gepaarte Göttin einfach mit dem Appellativum für Frau. Der Gott hiess *Tin-*, woneben vermutlich unter dem Einfluss einer jüngeren Schicht **Taus*, **Teus* trat; ihm stand eine Göttin als seine Frau, *Iada* [*supra* i. 763 n. 4], zur Seite. Ihre Zwillingssöhne hießen **Tintor-* oder ähnl. Wenn wir zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass diese Tyrrenho-Pelager bereits den idg. Zeus-Kult nach Hellas gebracht hatten, so wird damit zugleich das Rätsel der berühmten Ilias-stelle *II* 233 gelöst: *Ζεὺ ἄνα Δωδωναίε, Ἠελασγικέ, . . .*

i. 768 n. o. See now O. Huth 'Die Kultore der Indogermanen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 371—377 (in continuation of *id.* 'Der Durchzug des Wilden Heeres' *ib.* 1935 xxxii. 193—210).

i. 776 Zeus *Amários*. A. Aymard 'Le Zeus fédéral achaien Hamarios—Homarios' in the *Mélanges offerts à M. Oytaze Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis* Toulouse 1935 pp. 453—470 (defends the form 'Amários, cp. the summary in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1936 xlix. 349). *Id.* 'Le rôle politique du sanctuaire fédéral achaien' in the *Mélanges Franz Cumont (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves iv)* Bruxelles 1936 i. 1—26.

i. 781. A. D. Knox in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1915 xlv. 695 (Cambridge Philological Society, Feb. 25, 1915) suggested that in Phoinix of Kolophon *frag.* 2. 4 $\delta\varsigma$ οὐκ ἔδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ Δίῃαν ἐδίξητο the word 'Δίῃαν or the like is Persian for heaven, taken with τῶν 5, 6 from (Ktesias) *ap.* Strab. p. 733, following or correcting Hdt. i. 132.' But the text as given in cod. A of Athen. 530 E $\delta\varsigma$ οὐκ ἔδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδὲ βίω ἐδίξητο is very corrupt. Emendations are numerous (see the note of J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 232). Knox himself in the Loeb edition (London 1929) *frag.* 1. 4 now prints $\delta\varsigma$ οὐκ ἔδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ [δίξ]ων ἐδίξητο, and E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*² Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 108 *frag.* 3. 4 is still content with Naeke's $\delta\varsigma$ οὐκ ἔδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδ' ἰ<δ>ὼν ἐδίξητο.

i. 782 on Saint George as dragon-slayer. Add S. A. Matson *St. George and the Dragon*² London 1893 pp. 1—22 (popular), M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) pp. 174 ff. ('St. Michael and the Dragon'), 177 ff. ('St. George and the Dragon').

i. 784 bull-carrying on a coin of Nysa. Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlv* Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u. a.) Wien 1914 p. 70 no. 1511 pl. 24 ('Stier auf den Schultern von sechs nackten Epheben getragen, davor schreitender Flotenspieler') Maximus. See also K. Kourouniotes in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1921—1922 vii. 4 fig. 2 (enlarged).

i. 784 Syro-Hittite bulls enclosing human victims. We may perhaps compare the hollow bronze horse containing the body of a man, found by Gyges in Lydia (Plat. *rep.* 359 D, Apostol. 15. 85).

i. 785 statuette of gilded bronze from the Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 293 no. 2 'Atergatis', H. Gressmann in the *Vorlage der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 5, 10 'Atargatis.' But the statuette, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, has been cleaned and proves to be a male figure, possibly that of Adad (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1914 p. 14) or Chronos (R. Paribent *Le Terme de Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*⁴ Roma 1922 p. 120 f. no. 188). J. Leipoldt in D. Hans Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xiv f. fig. 109 is content to say 'Syrischer Gott vom Janiculum.'

ii. 3 n. o pot-Zeuses. Cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 22 Διόνυσος, υἱὸς Σταμῖου with schol. $\delta\theta\omega\upsilon$ εἶπεν υἱὸς Διός, κ.τ.λ. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 58 aptly explains Hesyeh. 'Ἐγχεῶ· ἢ Σεμέλῃ οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο as a comic formation from *έγχεῖν*.

ii. 6 n. 3. So Plout. *z. C. Gracch.* 14 καὶ τότε μὲν ὄμβρου γενομένου διελύθησαν· κ.τ.λ.

ii. 7 n. 1. See also O. Casel 'Vom heiligen Schweigen' in the *Benedictiner Monatschrift* 1921 p. 417 ff., and G. Mensching *Das heilige Schweigen* Giessen 1926 pp. 1—162 (reviewed by O. Casel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 142—149).

ii. 8 n. 7. G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. treats *Εκτωρ* as a short form of 'Εχελαιος (Attic 'Εχελος).

ii. 9 apotheosis by lightning. See now H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1924 xviii. 15 f.

ii. 12 Keraunos. H. Guntert *Über Reimwörthbildungen im arischen und altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914 p. 215 f. regards the god *Κεραυνός* as a rime-word to the Slavonic **Peraunos*.

R. Ganszyniec 'Zeus Keraunos' in *Eos* 1930/1931 xxxiii. 66 cp. 'Schiblé, der Gott des Donners, des Krieges und der Gerechtigkeit' worshipped by the Adighe or Circassians, who treat as sacrosanct any tree or man struck by lightning (F. Bodenstedt *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen* Frankfurt 1848 p. 201).

ii. 13 ff. Zeus *Kataibates*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 108—114 ('Zeus Kataibates'). A. S. Avantiopoulos in the *Ἐθ. Ἀρχ.* 1924 p. 146 f. no. 389 fig. 3 publishes a *stèle* of blackish marble found in the wall of the church of Hagia Kyriake at *Selos* near Pythion in Thessaly. The *stèle* has an *aktoma* with *akrotéria* above, below which is a smooth space originally occupied by a painting, and below that an inscription in letters of *ε*. the beginning of s. iii B.C. $\Delta\upsilon$ Καταϊβάτη· ἥρω

'Επι[κράτει. This Epikrates was either a chthonian hero or, more probably, a man killed by lightning and worshipped as a hero. On the Thessalian festival Καταβάσια see Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2461 f. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 71 n. 4 adds the base of a bronze statue found in Thasos, which bears a dedication of Roman date to Zeus Καταβάτης (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537). And G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 245 f. no. 25 records an inscription from Thasos (on a block of local marble, once a statue-base, to be dated c. the beginning of our era) Διὸς Καταβάτου.

ii. 19 n. ο ἀλευρομάντεις, ἀλφειτομάντεις, κριθομάντεις. See now Boehm 'Aleuromantie' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 258—260, 'Alphitomantie' *ib.* i. 310 f., 'Kriothomantie' *ib.* 1933 v. 594—596, and Eckstein 'Mehl' *ib.* 1934 vi. 89—110.

ii. 21 n. 5. G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 32 conjectures that this *abaton* of Zeus Καταβάτης marks the spot on which Demetrios Poliorketes [*supra* i. 58, cp. K. Scott 'The Deification of Demetrius Poliorketes' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1928 xlix. 217—239 summarised by P. Cloché in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 228] 'descended in a blaze of glory' from his chariot—a descent parodied by Plaut. *Cure.* 413 ff. where Curculio announces himself as Summanus, the god who sends nocturnal lightnings, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descends in a shower' (*summano*)!

ii. 23 n. 2 Numa's law about the man struck by lightning. E. Bickel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1931 lxxx. 279—298 cj. *hominem fulmine (or fulmini) ictos occidit*, and examines in detail relevant religious and linguistic usage.

ii. 24 Orpheus slain by a thunderbolt. Paus. 9. 30. 5 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασὶ κεραυνωθέντι ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτήν 'Ορφεί· κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν λόγων ἔνεκα ὧν ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οἱ πρότερον ἀκηκοῦστας ἀνθρώπους, Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5 τὸ δ' ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπιγράμμα, κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτὸν, λέγον οὕτως: 'Θρήϊκα χρυσολόρην τῆδ' Ὀρφέα Μοῦσα ἐθαψαν, | δν κτάνεν ἐψμῆδων Ζεὺς ψολόεντι βέλει' = *Anth. Pal.* 7. 617. 1 f., cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 99. 1 f.

ii. 30 n. 3 etymology of *Brundisium*. P. Skok 'Biendisium und Verwandtes' in the *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 1925/26 i. 81—90.

ii. 31 *téras*. See further P. Stein ΤΕΡΑΣ Marpurgi Cattorum 1909 pp. 1—66. He classifies the uses of the word and connects *Teiresias* with it, but does not elucidate its etymology. Schrader *Reallex.* 2 ii. 143^b, 481¹⁻² and H. Lewy in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1930 lviii. 30 f. connect *téras*, *réraia*, *Teiresias* and suppose that the word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general.

ii. 32 the *Tarentum* at Rome. P. Boyancé in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 1925 xlii. 135—146 discusses the site of the *ara Ditis in Tarento* and concludes that it was in low ground near the Tiber, probably in the *Ghetto* (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 221). But see the criticisms of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 508 f.

ii. 33 ff. Zoroastres. A masterly exposition of Zoroaster's life, teaching, and works will be found in J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspes d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 1—297 ('Introduction'), ii. 1—241 ('Les Textes').

ii. 36 ff. the Elysian Way. See now P. Capelle 'Elysium und Inseln der Seligen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 244—264, *ib.* 1928 xxvi. 17—40 (the etymology is dealt with on p. 32 f.), J. Charpentier 'Νεκτὸς ἀμολγῆ' in *Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae* Upsalae 1932 p. 27 ff., Stegemann 'Milchstrasse' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 367—374.

ii. 44 the 'straight light like a pillar' (Plat. *rep.* 616 B) without a counterpart in astronomical fact or fancy. But what of the zodiacal light (J. F. Julius Schmidt *Das Zodiacallicht* Braunschweig 1856 pp. 1—110)? J. Helmbold *Der Atlasmythus und Verwandtes* Mulhausen 1. E. 1906 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Mulhausen i. E.) p. 5 fig. shows the zodiacal light looking much like an obelisk with rounded top. He thinks that the pillars of Atlas (*Od.* 1. 52 ff), the pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19. 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the *Zodiacal Light*. This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Sping and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a family

luminous pillar with tapering point. . . I never saw it as a complete belt across the sky, as some have seen it in high tropic latitudes.'

ii. 45 the 'spindle of Ananke.' P. M. Schuhl in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 58—64 pls. 6 and 7 and fig. 1 holds that the spindle of Ananke may be derived from the ancient oriental theme of a spindle-holding goddess, 'la Dame au fuseau' [for which see U. Holmberg 'Der Baum des Lebens' in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* ser. B 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 106 ff.].

ii. 52 n. 2 *Iringes wec.* Add Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 373 n. 36.

ii. 52 ff. (cp. iii. 418 n. o) the *Irmingsül* as a sky-prop. G. Dottin in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 138: 'This belief in the fall of the sky is seen frequently in the oaths of Irish epic poetry.' Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 148 notes that, according to the Utopos of the Upper Congo, 'The day will come when the sky will collapse and flatten us all out, blacks and whites alike' (a reference that I owe to my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris). H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 381 n. 1 cp. our own proverb 'If the sky should fall, we should all catch larks' [W. G. Smith *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* Oxford 1935 p. 210 f.], but refuses to believe that this ever expressed a real fear. Weiser-Aall in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1930 ii. 1527: 'Das Weltgebäude ist nach der Vorstellung vieler Völker wie das Wohnhaus aufgebaut. So muss der Himmel wie das Dach durch eine Saule bzw. durch den Weltbaum gestützt werden' etc. (Scandinavians, Lapps, Celts, Germans). A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 130 f. defends my view against criticism and supplies a parallel from the *Veda* (H. Oldenberg *La religion du Veda* Paris 1903 p. 60 n. 2 "Pourquoi le ciel ne tombe-t-il pas sur la terre?—Parce qu'un grand bouc à une seule patte lui sert de pilier" [cp. A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 73 f.]). J. Erdodi in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1932 l. 214—219 discusses the Sanskrit *Skambha*, 'himmelstützender Baum' (*Alharva-Veda* 10. 8. 2 'Vom Skambha wird der Himmel und die Erde | Ewig gehalten auseinander, | Auf Skambha (ruht) dies beselte All, | Was atmet, was die Augen schliesst'), as source of the Finnish *Sampo*, which in the *Kalevala* denotes 'eine wunderbare Muhle, Glücksmuhle,' but is akin to the Wotyak *sammás*, 'Sauge, Wetterhahn,' and Esthonian *samma*, 'Sauge, Pfosten.'

Further evidence for the sky-prop in belief and practice is collected by U. Holmberg in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* ser. B. 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 9—33 figs. 2—15 ('Die Weltsaule'). *Id.* in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 221 f. says: 'the Samoyeds (Turuhansk District) call the North Star the "nail of the sky." "round which the heavens revolve." The ancient Finns had also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, borrowed by the Lapps from the Finns, *Bohi-naville* ("the nail of the north"); its counterpart among the Esthonians being the *Põhjanael*. . . This nail is, at the same time, regarded as supporting the sky. . . Missionaries relate that the Lapps sacrificed to their highest god *Veralden iade* ("Ruler of the world") so that "he should not let fall the sky," erecting at the altars a tree either split in two or forked naturally, or also, at times, a high pillar, called the "pillar of the world" (*Veralden tshuold*) for the god to "support the world with, and keep it in its present form and condition, that it might not grow old and fall from its former nature." The tree was be-mearched with blood from the sacrifice. A "pillar of the world" of this description was seen by Leem in the vicinity of the Porsanger Fjord [*supra* ii. 423 n. 3 with fig. 329]. . . That these pillars of the Lapps had a heavenly counterpart is shown by the fact that, in some places, the name of the North Star is "pillar of the world" (*Veralden tshuold*). It is probable that the Lapps obtained both their ideas and their sacrificial customs from the Scandinavians . . . ; the "nail" may be compared with the Scandinavian *Veraldar nagli*, the "world-nail." *Id. ib.* p. 333 ff.: 'From this belief spring the curious names given by the Altaic stocks to the North Star. The Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks, and the Altai Tatars and Uigurs call the star in question "The golden pillar"; the Kirghis, Bashkirs and certain other Siberian Tatar tribes call it "The iron pillar"; the Teleuts "The lone post," and the Tungus-Orotshons "The golden post." From the similarity of the names given it by these widely separated peoples we may conclude that the conception of a sky-supporting pillar reaches back among the Altaic race to a comparatively early period. . . Although none of the available sources mention directly that the peoples of the Altaic race made images of this great world-pillar, we can still be reasonably certain that they did so from the fact that several of the more northern peoples have kept up this custom even to our days. . . The Ostiaks call these wooden images of the pillar, "town-pillars" or "the strong pillars of the town's centre." Those more simple in construction are erected by being slightly sunk





Marble head of Iuno *Lucina* (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 1117.

into the earth, and are hardly ever observed to be shaped at all in any way. The pillar of the village of Tsingala is about two fathoms in height, a squared, slender log, not very old.... This pillar of Tsingala, which the Ostiaks of that place regard as a deity, is called by them "The iron pillar man," a similar name being given to the post of another village of Irtysh, resembling greatly the afore-mentioned "Iron pillar" of the Tatars.... Some peoples in North-West Siberia, who have a similar custom, place on the world-pillar a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes has two heads. . . The pillars, on which these birds are placed and which have sometimes cross-pieces like branches, are, according to the Dolgans, a symbol of the "never falling props" before the dwelling of the Supreme God. On the cross-pieces, so it is said, dwell the sons of God.'

E. Jung 'Irmisul und Rolandsaule' in *Mannus* 1925 xvii 1—34 figs. 1—14, taking a hint from J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 119 and 394, claims that the *Rolandsaule* of Niedersachsen, Westfalen, Obersachsen, and Thüringen was a Christianised survival of the pre-Christian *Irmisul* (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 502). See further P. J. Hamilton-Grierson in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 420^a ('Irmisaulen, Rolandsaulen, *perrons*, and many of the market-crosses of Scotland').

ii. 57 ff. Jupiter-Columns. These are now published and illustrated in detail by Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* (Index in x. 253 'Chapiteau,' 266 'Restes de colonnes,' 275 f. 'Quatre divinités') and *Bas-reliefs de la Germanie Rom.* (Index p. 480 'Cavalier et anguipède,' 'Colonne votive,' p. 484 'Quatre divinités'). Add R. L[antier] in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 276—278 fig. 1 (group from Neschers).

ii. 61 n. o Iuno *Lucina*. In 1934 on the dispersal of the Harland-Peck collection I acquired a fine marble head (Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue* 1934 p. 11 no. 48: height 22 inches), which represents Iuno wearing a *stephane* adorned with nine crescents (pl. lxxix). I take her to be Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of childbirth—the Roman copy of a Greek type resembling Hera Ludovisi.

ii. 62 f. the Wild Hunt or Furious Host. See further F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 pp. 173—211 ('La Me-nie furieuse, ou la Chasse sauvage'), K. Meisen *Die Sagen vom Wütenden Heer und Wilden Jäger* Münster 1935 pp. 1—144.

ii. 63 *Wodan*. Cp. G. Neckel 'Regnator omnium deus' [*Tac. Germ.* 39] in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 1926 ii. 139—150.

ii. 69 ff. the octagonal *Wochengotterstein*. F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 88 suggests that the influence of Syrian religious art may account for these eight-sided blocks, mounted on a square plinth and supporting a cylindrical column with its crowning group of cavalier and anguiped.

ii. 86 n. 3. L. Barbedette 'Le symbolisme des tombeaux gallo-romains' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 273—277 deals with Lusous and Ercia, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Several such *cippi* bear the sepulchral dedication D·M.

ii. 88 the world-pillar in Rhenic Germany. Miss J. R. Bacon in 1929 kindly drew my attention to Skymn. Chi. *per.* 188 ff. τούτων δὲ (sc. τῶν Κελτῶν) κείται λεγομένη τις ἐσχάτη | στήλη ββρειος· ἐστὶ δ' ὑψηλὴ πάνι | εἰς κυματώδες πέλαγος ἀνατείνονα ἄκραν. | οἰκοῦσι τῆς στήλης δὲ τοὺς ἐγγίης τόπους | Κελτῶν ὅσοι λήγουσιν ὄντες ἐσχατοὶ | Ἐνετοὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν | Ἰστρον καθηκόντων λέγουσι δ' αὐτόθεν | τὸν Ἰστρον ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν τοῦ πνεύματος.

ii. 88 n. 3 Jack and the Beanstalk. On which see L. Mackensen 'Bohnenranke zum Himmel' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Marchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 299—301.

ii. 97 n. o Nero as Zeus. A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 18 notes *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 75 no. 7 (Dioshieron) ὄνν. ΣΕΥΣ | ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ heads of Zeus to left and Nero to right, face to face. Nock cites Calp. Sic. 4. 142 f. tu quoque mutata seu Iuppiter ipse figura, | Caesar, ades etc.

ii. 107 n. 4. For the spiral column see also the materials collected by M. Avi-Yonah in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 i. 303—309.

ii. 111 n. o Zeus *Tropaiophoros*. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1926—1927 xxviii. 117 no. 1 publishes an inscription from Klazomenai [Δία τροπαιοφόρον | [-----] ἀνέθηκεν | [ἐπιμεληθ]έντος Τιβερίου | [Κλαυδίου] Θεοδώρου.

ii. 111 n. 1 La Turbie. See now A. Blanchet *Forma orbis Romani: carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* Fasc. 1 *Alpes-Maritimes* by P. Couissin sections 4—6 pls. 1—3 Paris 1931 (noticed by W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 520).

P. Casimir *Le trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie* Marseille 1932 pp. 1—168, S. F. Gimenez 'Ce que j'ai vu à la Turbie' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 165—168 (built round a pre-existing monument, perhaps several centuries older).

ii. 114 ff. the Pillar of Light. Kallisthenes of Olynthos *frag.* 8 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 13 f. Müller) = *frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 646 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 4 (cp. *ib.* 7. 5. 3—5) inter multa prodigia, quibus denuntiata est duarum urbium Helices et Buris eversio, fuere maxime notabilia columna ignis immensi et Delos agitata. But this fiery pillar was presumably a species of comet (O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 656 n. 1). The Jewish tragedian Ezekiel (*s. ii. B.C.*: see A. Jacoby in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 278 n. 1) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 9. 29. 16 locates Moses' rock at Elm and says τὸ θεὸν δὲ φέγγος ἐξέλαμψε νύκτι, | κατ' εὐφρόνην σημεῖον ὡς στύλος πυρός—apparently combining the 'pillar of fire' (Ex. 13. 21 f. *alib.*) with the 'rock in Horeb' (Ex. 17. 6, cp. Num. 20 8), if not with the 'rock that followed them' (1 Cor. 10. 4).

R. Vallois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 327 f. regards the blaze in Krastonia as a ritual epiphany of Dionysos, citing Suet. *Aug.* 94 Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unque omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Vallois compares the Theban myth of Dionysos *πυργενής* [Eustath. in *Il.* p. 346, 32] and the nativity of the Cretan Zeus (Ant. Lib. 19: *supra* ii. 928 n. 0).

ii. 117 n. 7 Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. H. J. Rose in *The Hubbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 remarks that Quint. Smyrn. is here imitating Ap. Rhod. 3. 160 f.

ii. 119 'star-flung Thunderbolt.' K. Kerényi 'Αστροβόλητα κεραυνός' in the *Egyptemes Philologiai Közlemény* Budapest 1927 li. 81—87 = *id.* 'ΑΣΤΡΟΒΛΗΤΑ ΚΕΡΑΤΝΟΣ' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 322—330, cp. *id. ib.* 1933 xxx. 288 n. 1.

ii. 121 'I have fallen as a kid into milk.' C. W. Vollgraff ΕΡΙΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΤΑΑ' ΕΙΗΤΟΝ (*Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, No. 2) Amsterdam 1924 pp. 1—35 (in Dutch, with summary in French) holds that the formula means 'I, become a kid, flung myself upon the milk,' *i.e.* upon the breast of the deity. Cp. the Villa Item fresco, where a Satyress suckles a kid [A. Maiuri *La Villa dei Misteri* Roma 1931 p. 140 ff. fig. 53 and col. pl. 5 f.].

ii. 121 n. 3 vases showing Thracian women tattooed. To the six examples listed add: (7) A *kylix* from Caere, now at Schwerin, signed by the potter Pistoxenos (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* n. 372 f. no. 3 fig.). J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 259 no. 1) shows young Herakles followed by an old crone Geropso, who is tattooed in the Thracian manner with parallel strokes on neck, forearms, and feet (the best publication is that of J. Maybaum in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 24—37 fig. 1 pls. 5—8). (8) A fragmentary *kylix-kratér* from Tarentum, now at the Hague (C. Watzinger in Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerer* iii. 355—361 pl. 178), represents the assailant of Orpheus with numerous tattoo-marks on arms, legs, and necks. 'Dieser Körper-chmuck besteht nicht nur aus geometrischen Mustern, senkrechten und wagrechten Strichen, Zickzack- und Maanderbandern und punktierten Sternen [on which solar symbol see *supra* i. 296 fig. 219, C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 55 ff., *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 51 pl. 4. 1, and S. Casson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 514 ff.], sondern an Armen und Beinen sehen wir auch sich emporringelnde Schlangen und hochbeinige Vierfüssler, Rehe und Hirsche und einmal am Arm wohl eher ein springendes Reh als einen Hasen' (p. 359).

ii. 123 n. 0 ritual tattooing. See further F. J. Dolger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1930 ii. 100 ff. ('Die Gottesweih durch Brandmarkung oder T... -chen Dionysoskult der Ptolemaerzeit'), 107 ff. ('Zur Frage der ... im thrakischen Dionysoskult ...'), 297 ff. ('Religiöse Tatowierung im Atargatiskult von Hierapolis in Syrien'), 1932 iii. 257 ff. ('Der Sinn der sakralen Tatowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur').

ii. 124 ladder as soul-path. Hence perhaps that favourite *motif* in Pompeian art—Eros on a ladder (*e.g.* Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 85, 3—5, p. 91, 4).

ii. 124 n. 2 pl. vi. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 230 n. 29 justly objects that I have ignored the explanation of the scene offered by F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. öst. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 96 fig. 56 ('Αδωνιάζουσα: the woman on the ladder personates Aphrodite).

ii. 128 Jacob's ladder. C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933

p. 988 (in Little Russia the staircase seen by Jacob is formed of seven heavens—blue, green, violet, yellow, white, pink, and fiery red).

ii. 128 n. 2. See now T. Dombart *Der babylonische Turm* Leipzig 1930 pp. 1—36 with 9 figs. in text and 4 pls.

ii. 129 n. 2. Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1926, kindly points out to me that in Chwolsohn's translation from Makrisi 'Leiter' means, not 'ladder,' but 'leader' ('etwa die Bedeutung von "spiritus rector"').

ii. 130 votive ladders. W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 410—420 ('L'échelle aux serpents') observes that, from the year 364 B.C. onwards, the official inventories of the Artemision at Delos mention a small ladder in gilded wood round which a couple of silver snakes were twined (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 461 ff. line 102 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 815, 102 ff. (364 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξύλινον περιεχρυσωμένον ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον ἄστατον, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 389 ff. (B) 35 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 833, 35 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161 B 35 f. (279 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξύλινον περιχρυσόν ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον, ἄστατον, *ib.* ii no. 162 B 28 f. (278 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξύλινον περὶ [χρυσόν ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον, ἄστατον], *ib.* ii no. 203 B 86 (269 B.C.) κλιμάκιον [ξύλινον ἐπίχρυσον ὄφειν δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῖς, E. Schulhof in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 64 ff. no. 12, 23 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 208, 23 f. κλιμάκιον ξ[ύλινον ἐπίχρυσον ὄφειν δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῖς]). For the snakes of the ladder Deonna cp. the vision of St Perpetua (*supra* ii. 133), a fresco of c. 300—350 A.D. from the crypt of St Marcus and St Marcellianus in the Cemetery of St Balbina (H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1910 ii. 149 f. with fig. 1229, cp. *id.* *ib.* 1921 iv. 1718 fig. 3900), and the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* by Herrade de Landsberg (*supra* ii. 136 n. 3). Does the same symbolism survive in the modern game of 'Snakes and Ladders'?

ii. 131 the terra-cotta disks from Tarentum. See now P. Willeumier 'Les disques de Tarente' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 26—64 with 4 pls. and 2 figs. K. Kerényi in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 271—307 with fig. on p. 270 adds an interesting example in the Museum at Brindisi ('Ανδρῶν-Darstellung . . . mit einem Zodiakus von 11 Zeichen').

ii. 131 f. with fig. 79 Baubo. This terra cotta is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin: a photograph of it is given by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 i. 16, also by O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 199 with fig. 2 ('Die Frau ist ganz nackt. . . und berührt mit der rechten Hand die Scham. In Ägypten kennen wir die Gestalt dieser Frau in derselben Haltung und mit derselben Geste in zahlreichen Wiederholungen, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass sie nicht auf dem Schwein sitzt. Es sind kleine Figürchen, die gewöhnlich unter dem Namen Baubo gehen, ohne dass sie irgendwelches Recht auf diesen Namen haben. Sie tragen meist reichen Schmuck an Armen und Beinen, Kranze auf dem Kopf, und als Attribut kommt neben Sistren und Flaschen einmal auch eine Leiter vor, nie die Scala').

See further S. Reinach 'Un mime byzantin' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 433—442 (= *id.* 'Un mime byzantin ou Baubo à Byzance' in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1923 v. 103—113), C. Picard 'L'épisode de Baubo dans les mystères d'Eleusis' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1927 xcvi. 220—254, G. Pansa *Miti, leggende e superstizioni dell' Abruzzo* Sulmona 1927 ii. 91 ff. ('Il mito Eleusimio (sic) di Baubo ed il simbolo talismanico della ranocchia') with 11 figs., S. Reinach 'Baubo japonaise' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 337, U. Pestalozza in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 64 ff. (Baubo etc.), P. Demargne 'Deux représentations de la déesse minoenne dans la nécropole de Mallia (Crète)' in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 305—314 with pls. 1—3 and fig. 1 (a painted anthropomorphic rhyton of 'Early Minoan iii' date and an incised *oinochos* of 'Middle Minoan i'—both showing a goddess comparable with Baubo), H. Vorwahl 'Ein apotropäischer Kriegsbrauch' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 395—397 ('so wird eindeutig, dass es sich hier um dynamische Vorstellungen handelt, die Ausstrahlung von Kraft im apotropäischen Sinne'). An external corbel on the apse of the Norman church at Kilpeck, Monmouthshire, is sufficient proof that Baubo is with us yet.

ii. 142 n. 1. Cp. also A. Taramelli 'Chiaromonti.—Navicella votiva protosarda rinvenuta a Nuraghe Spiena' in the *Not. Scavi* 1925 pp. 322—327 fig. 1 (bronze boat with stag-head prow), F. Behn in Ebert *Reallex.* xi. 248 with pl. 64, a.

ii. 143 Sardus Pater. C. Albizzati 'Sardus Pater' in *Historia* 1927 i. 56—65 with 14 figs., L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxvii. 198.

ii. 146 Diana-Pillars. Cp. a fresco from Pompeii which shows Mercury facing Venus and, between them, a Diana-pillar with crown-shaped top, a pair of ox-horns (?) attached

to the shaft, and a small ithyphallic ex-voto at the base—the whole erected on a rock (B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 32 with pp. 1—9, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 8 no. 20, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 97 no. 3).

ii. 150 n. 2. On the Jains see J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1926 xiii (Index). 288, also A. Guérinot *La religion Djama* Paris 1926 pp. 1—350 with 25 pls. (pt 2. 11 'Cosmologie,' pt 3. 1 'Les sanctuaires et les temples').

ii. 157 n. o. E. Babelon *Guide illustré au Cabinet des Médailles* Paris 1900 p. 211 f. fig. 83 'Vase de Bérénice,' H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 11 no. K 76 pl. 5 (βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | Φιλοπάτορος ...), p. 12 no. K 77 pl. 5 (ἀγαθῆς τύχης Ἀραμόνης Φιλαδέλφου).

ii. 160 ff. *Agyieús*-Pillars. With figs. 104—106 cp. a square bronze weight in the British Museum (1930. 4—17. 2) with an *Agyieús*-pillar in relief surrounded by the letters **A M B P**.

C. A. Rhomaios in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 211 ff. fig. 1 publishes as an 'Αγυιεύς d'Apollon' a limestone pillar (1'44^m high) of cylindrical shape and tapering towards the top, which was found in Korkyra and bears the inscription [·] ΡϞϞΞΓΥΧΑΙϞΣ, that is [δ]ρφος Πυθαίος = τοῦ Πυθίου or τοῦ Πυθαίου, cp. *ib.* fig. 6 a tapering limestone cylinder (0'90^m high) hollowed at the upper end to serve as an altar, likewise found in Korkyra and inscribed ΟΡϞΟΞΗΙΑΡΟΞ |

ΤΑΞΑΚΡΙΑΣ, that is *drfos iarpós* | *tās 'Akrías* = of Hera 'Akría. Rhomaios is followed

by C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 82 fig. 1. W. Dittenberger in *Inscr. Gr. sept.*

iii. 1 nos. 699 (misread) and 698 had included both pillars in his list of local boundary-stones. *Id. ib.* iii. 1 no. 704 accepted as 'Apollinis Agyiei simulacrum' the stone of Mys (*supra* ii. 161 n. 3). So does A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii/xiv p. iii fig. 11.

At Hephaistia in Lemnos the Italians have found a village of the Geometric Age with a sanctuary comprising three large chambers. That to the south has in the centre a small octagonal pointed column, and yielded sherds of Ionic and black-figured Attic wares together with a rich deposit of terra-cotta figurines and local pots (E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxv. 196 f., D. Levi in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 28, 1931 p. 328 with a view of the sanctuary).

C. Bonner has suggested to me in conversation (July 10, 1931) that even in Homer there may be traces of sacred stones comparable with the *Agyieús*. Thus in *Il.* 12. 445 ff. Hektor caught up *láan*..., *ós ra πυλάων* | *έστήκει πρόσθε, πρυνός παχύς, αὐτάρ έπερθεν* *δξὺς ηρν*. Also in *Od.* 3. 406 ff. Nestor sat *έπί* ('at' rather than 'on') *ξροοίσι λίθοισιν*, *οί οί έσαν προπάρουθε θυράων ύψηλάων* | *λευκοί, άποστίλθοντες αλείφατος* (libations of fat, not polish) *οίς έπι μέν πρῖν* | *Σηλεύς ύξροκεν, κ.τ.λ.* Again, elders in the market-place sat *έπί ξροοίσι λίθοισιν* *ύρω ένί κύκλω* (*Il.* 18. 504, cp. *Od.* 8. 6). I suggested to Bonner that perhaps to sit on the sacred stone was to be filled with the wisdom of the immanent deity. Hence the *Agyieús*-block might serve as a seat (cp. Priamos on his $\Theta\Lambda\text{K}\text{O}\Sigma$ at the gate of Troy as shown on the François-vase (Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12)), and the elders in council might actually sit on a sepulchral stone-circle to acquire the wisdom of the buried chieftain. Much relevant evidence will be found in a book of intense interest by A. H. Allcroft *The Circle and the Cross* London 1927 i. 80 ff. ('The Achean Moot' and successive chapters).

ii. 167 fig. 111. Cp. a copper *drachmá* of Byzantion cited by F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1094 fig. 1355: *obr.* BYZ head of Apollon, laureate, to right: *rev.* ΔΡΑ||ΧΜΑ pillar with finial, set on a broad base (?).

ii. 169 ff. the Delphic *omphalós*. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 839 ff. with fig. 555 publishes a plaster-fragment from Knossos, found near the 'Cow-boy Fresco' on the east slope of the palace, which shows a pale blue *omphalós* (?) with a deep red band twined about it in an irregular net-like fashion.

L. B. Holland 'The Mantic Mechanism at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 201—214 argues that the *omphalós* shown in my pl. ix, *a—c* with fig. 119 stood on a low square plinth beside a circular base supporting the tripod. *Omphalós* and plinth were alike pierced by a square hole. There was probably a tube of bronze in the hole. The knife was inserted to extract this metal lining, but got stuck in the hole. The nails were used in a vain attempt to pry it out. The purpose of the pipe was to convey the inspiring fumes from the crypt below to the feet of the Pythoness, who sat on the tripod. This ingenious view, though largely hypothetical, is deserving of careful consideration.

H. Lacoste in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 1 pl. 4 gives a

restored ground-plan of the fourth-century temple of Apollon, on which is marked the exact position of the side-chapel. *Id. ib.* 'Addenda et Corrigenda' p. (2) amends the facsimile of the inscription on the *omphalós* (my fig. 120) by prolonging the first stroke of the *alpha* so that it crosses the second. But there is no doubt that the letter intended was Λ .

F. Chapouthier in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 336 draws attention to the curious resemblance of the inscription engraved on an *amphora* from Mykenai (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 58 fig. 33).

P. de la Coste-Messelière—R. Flacelière 'Une statue de la Terre à Delphes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1930 liv. 283—295 figs. 1, 2 and pl. 14 publish a limestone base inscribed retrograde $\Lambda\Lambda = \Gamma\tilde{\alpha}$ on its upper surface and $\Gamma\Lambda$ in late lettering on its front. The base shows four holes for the two feet of a bronze statue. It was found near Kastalia just opposite the big plane-tree, which local tradition identifies with that of Agamemnon. With this base were found five other blocks which may have come from the same monument (?), one inscribed retrograde $\zeta\text{I}\text{M}\text{E}\text{O} = \Theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\varsigma$ on its upper surface and $\text{OEM}\text{I}\text{X}$ in fourth-century letters on its front, another with nothing above but $\text{K}\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda\text{I}\text{X}\text{T}\Omega$ in fourth-century style in front, a third with the artist's signature $\Lambda, \text{AO}\Omega\text{N}$ followed by $\text{EP}\Gamma\text{ON}$ (F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 2. 163—165). On the whole it seems clear that the bases of Ge and Themis must be connected and prove a joint cult at Kastalia. A deep cavity between the two statues was meant for a large bronze tree-trunk, perhaps a bay (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 9).

ii. 176 n. 2 the Delphic **E**. This famous symbol continues to provoke lively discussion. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³ Berlin 1912 ii. 214 n. regards it as 'vermutlich eine κλεις κρυπτή, die zunächst als eine Erfindung geweiht, dann symbolisch gefasst und endlich als **E** gedeutet wurde. Denn das Balanosschlüssel sieht einem archaischen **E** sehr ähnlich.' F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* ($\Sigma\text{Τ}\text{Ο}\text{Ι}\text{Χ}\text{Ε}\text{Ι}\text{Α}$ vii) Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23 cites with approval Diels' explanation, but notes as an alternative possibility R. Eisler's suggestion that we have here to do with 'kleine Tempelmodellchen: im Sohar wird der Buchstabe η hejkal = babyl. **E-GAL** = ékallu Tempel genannt,' etc. W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch. Dez.* 23. 1922 pp. 1209—1211 still insists that **E** is $\epsilon\lambda = \tau\theta\iota$ 'komm, tritt ein!' (*id.* 'Neue Beiträge zur Deutung des delphischen **E**' in *Hermes* 1901 xxxvi. 470—489). W. N. Bates 'The **E** of the Temple at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 239—246 takes it to be a Cretan character, which on a gem in New York is associated with two bulls and two double axes and hence is probably to be read as a symbol of the Cretan Zeus or of the Cretan goddess, at Delphi called Gaia. Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta* Oxford 1930 p. 92 f. with pl. 23, 7 publishes an oval stone pebble, bored as a pendant and incised with Π , from a neolithic site in Malta: significance unknown. C. Fries 'De **E** Delphico' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 343 f. claims that the symbol derives from Sumer: 'Jerenias...interroganti mihi scribit, **E** in Sumerorum lingua idem esse quod aedem vel cameram vel domum vel quod sescenties in Sumerorum inscriptionibus inveniatur.' Finally, R. Demangel 'Triglyphes bas' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 421—438 with 17 figs. (especially pp. 426—428 fig. 9 f.) reverts to my explanation, and extends it in some directions beyond my purview.

ii. 183 n. 3 Rhapsod. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 281 (cp. $\rho\alpha\psi\omega\iota\delta\alpha\iota$).

ii. 187 the *omphalós* as a mound (?). S. H. Hooke in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvii. 24 f. derives the *omphalós* and its *agrenón* from 'early Sumerian seals of the "mountain" in which the dead god is imprisoned.'

ii. 187 n. 8 Zeus and Aigina. Zeus in pursuit of a young woman, a not infrequent scene on red-figured Attic vases, is often by a process of elimination labelled 'Zeus pursuing Aegina' (e.g. L. D. Caskey—J. D. Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* Oxford 1931 i. 13 ff. no. 17 pl. 6, 43 no. 48 pls. 22 and 26, 45 no. 50 pl. 23). That is very possibly right, but the interpretation is secure only when accompanied by names, or at least by one name—that of the heroine. Thus a *stámmos* from Vulci, now in the Vatican (H 504), attributed to the painter Hermonax (c. 470—455 B.C.), shows $\text{I}\text{E}\text{V}\text{S}$ with sceptre held horizontally just overtaking $\text{A}\text{I}\text{G}\text{I}\text{N}\text{A}$, whose sisters hasten to tell their father $\text{A}\Sigma\text{O}\text{Π}\text{O}\Sigma$ (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 20, 1 and 1 a, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 400 f. no. 4. Atlas pl. 6, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 65 f. pl. 6, 4, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 36 no. 37, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 8), while a column-

kratér in New York, attributed to the 'Boreas Painter' (c. 460 B.C.), shows Zeus with uplifted bolt catching ΑΙΛυα. She turns to touch his chin in supplication. Her sisters flee in alarm. The reverse perhaps depicts Asopos, at home, receiving the news from his other daughters (Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 81 no. 8 bis, Beazley *op. cit.* p. 305 no. 3 'Semele verfolgt' (?), G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 116 f. no. 86 pls. 94 (= my fig. 883) and 170). On the ethnic implications of the myth see J. P. Harland *Préhistorie Argina* Paris 1925 pp. 59-63.

ii. 189 antithetic grouping. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge (Oct. 31, 1928) on recent finds at Ur, showed that 'the antithetic arrangement of animal figures' long before its appearance on Cretan seals etc. occurs in Mesopotamian art, and in Babylonia can be traced back to a period c. 3000 B.C. See further F. A. v. Scheltema, G. Roeder, and E. Unger 'Wappen (und Wappenstil)' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 250-254, W. Deonna 'Animaux à deux corps et une tête' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 i. 47-73 figs. 6-12, A. Koes *Greek Geometric Art its Symbolism and its Origin* Haarlem-Oxford 1933 pp. 16 ff., 93 ff., 99 ff., 115 ff., J. Baltrusaitis *Art sumérien art roman* Paris 1934 pp. 17 ff., 31 ff., 56 ff., 64 ff., 83 ff.

ii. 189 n. o. Dr A. H. Lloyd pointed out to me (Dec. 24, 1926) that on certain tetradrachms of Gela (c. 466-415 B.C.) a flying eagle is attached by two reins to Nike's *quadriga*. He suggested that this implied Zeus in eagle form. But E. S. G. Robinson in *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 34, 986 says: 'The lines which run down on the obverse from eagle to chariot rail and goad and at first sight seem to be intended to connect the bird to the car appear to be in fact die-flaws.' It must, however, be admitted that on a duplicate given to me by Dr Lloyd the alleged 'die-flaws' are in exactly the same condition (cp. *supra* ii. 657 n. 3).

ii. 191 original character of the Delphic *omphalós*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 2 is more disposed to accept the view that the *omphalós* was the tomb of Dionysos as advocated by T. Homolle 'Ressemblance de l'omphalos delphique avec quelques représentations égyptiennes' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 338-358. Picard thinks the analogies with modern Greek custom 'fort superficielles.' K. Schwendemann 'Omphalos, Pythongrab und Drachenkampf' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1920-1921 xx. 481-484 rejects the 'τύμβος-Theorie' and reverts to the older 'Erdnabeltheorie.'

V. Nordstrom *Poseidon oh hans skjæpning* Helsingfors 1931 pp. 1-40 and *Om Hermes χρυσόραπης* Helsingfors 1932 pp. 1-30 contends that Poseidon's staff (*Il.* 13. 59), Poseidon's trident, and Hermes' rod were all modifications of the umbilical cord! H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvii. 182 deals faithfully with such vagaries.

ii. 193 ff. the Delphic tripod. C. Clemen *Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1926 i. 247 fig. 100 (after Springer *Kunst des Altertums*¹⁰ fig. 433) restores the Plataean tripod much as I do, but with legs contracted at the base.

K. Kluge in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv. 23 ff. discusses the technique of the serpent-column (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.).

ii. 199 n. 2 with pl. xii the Chigi base. A marble replica of (a) and (c), dredged up in the harbour at the Peiræus and referred to a date c. 100 B.C., is figured in *The Illustrated London News* for Jan. 31, 1931 p. 164 f. A full account of the find is given by E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 91.

ii. 201 n. 1. J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me (March 2, 1927) that at Delphoi the plane-tree of Agamemnon is still shown, below Kastalia, at the outlet of the gorge.

ii. 205 n. 1 dolphins. See Biedermann *Der Delphin in der dichtenden und bildenden Phantasie der Griechen und Römer* Halle a. S. 1881 pp. 1-26, E. B. Stebbins *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* Menasha, Wisconsin 1929 pp. 1-136 (reviewed by A. M. Duff in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xlv. 185 f.).

ii. 206 n. 1 divining-glass. A. Delatte *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège xlvi) Liège 1932 pp. 1-221 pls. 1-12, T. Hopfner 'Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 218-232.

ii. 209. On the *Pythia* as a case of artificial and voluntary possession see T. K. Oesterreich *Possession demoniacal and other among primitive races, in antiquity, the middle ages, and modern times* London 1930 pp. 311-331.

ii. 212 n. o the Pelades. Cp. also Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 103 f. nos. 553, 554.

ii. 212 n. 3. An almost exact replica of the black-figured *Isklythos* at Leyden is



Fig. 883.

published by R. B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 534 f. no. 201 fig. 5. Another black-figured *lékythos* of similar style and period, found at Gela, was discussed by P. Orsi *ib.* 1906 xvii. 120 ff. fig. 88. It shows the youthful figure emerging from the cauldron, which is surrounded by roaring flames and flanked by two scared women (Peliades?).

ii. 222 n. 4. Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 4 ff. possibly 'geht . . . durch Apollonios auf Timaios zuruck, vgl. G. Bertermann, *De Iamblichii vit. Pyth. fontibus*, Diss. Königsberg 1913, S. 37' (O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1924/25 Abh. vii. 11 Nachtrag).

ii. 224 the ivory shoulder of Pelops. H. W. Parke 'The Bones of Pelops and the Siege of Troy' in *Hermathena* 1933 xxiii. 153—162 discussing Paus. 5. 13. 4 ff. holds that the shoulder-blade of Pelops there mentioned as brought from Pisa to Troy and later lost off Euboia in a storm, but recovered from the sea by the fisherman Damarmenos and at the bidding of the Delphic oracle restored by him to the Eleans, was identified in c. vi B.C. with Pelops' ivory shoulder—a highly primitive feature of sacrificial or cannibalistic origin, being in reality the *scapula* of some cetacean!

I suspect that Eur. *Bacch.* 1300 (Agaue asks of her son's scattered limbs) ἦ πᾶν ἐν ἄρθροις συγκεκλιμένον καλῶς; points to an original form of the myth in which Pentheus was recalled to life. This may have been detailed in the lacuna immediately following line 1300.

Cp. the shepherds' treatment of the boy killed by a bear in Apul. *met.* 7. 26 nec uspiam ruris aperitur ille sed plane corpus eius membratim laceratum multisque dispersum locis conspicitur . . . et cadaver quidem disiectis partibus <collectis> tandem totum reperit aegreque concinnatum ibidem terrae dedere. Note also the queer story of Domitia Longina, who collected the flesh of her butchered husband Domitian, put the pieces accurately together, sewed up the whole body, and had a bronze statue of it made and set up at Rome (Prokop. *anecdota* 8. 15—21).

ii. 224 n. 1 the golden breast. J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 410^b: 'The story of Caradoc, which forms part of the French Perceval cycle [ed. Potvin ii. 191 ff.], relates how a serpent fastened on his arm and sucked away his life. He was saved by a young maiden presenting her breast to the serpent, which took the nipple in its mouth. Cadwr then cut off its head, but with that also the nipple, which was magically replaced by one of gold. A close parallel exists in a Gaelic folk-tale ['Sheen Billy' in Campbell i. xcvi f.], and less close in a Scots ballad ['The Queen of Scotland' in Child no. 301], but it is probable that the source is Celtic, as the name of the wife of the Welsh Karadawe is Tegau Eurfron, Tegau 'with the golden breast'. For a full discussion of the tale and its variants see C. A. Harper 'Carados and the Serpent' in *Modern Language Notes* 1898 xiii. 417—431, G. Paris 'Caradoc et le serpent' in *Romania* 1899 xxviii. 214—231.

ii. 228 n. 4. On the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* see now A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 155—163 with pl 8 and 4 figs., P. Roussel *ib.* 1927 li. 164—169 (summaries by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 230 ability to stare at the sun. On this *Sonnenmotiv* see E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin p. 160 n. 2.

ii. 232 n. 0. A convex sardonyx (owner unknown) shows the Delian Apollon, a nude standing figure with the three Charites on his outstretched right hand and a bow in his left (Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 7, ii. 191, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 7, 8 (enlarged)). C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 573 fig. 199 illustrates a relief at Munich on which the upper part of the Delian Charites is shown—profile to left, full-face, profile to right—perhaps after the cult-statue.

ii. 243 n. 3. On the *paion* of Philodamos see now W. Vollgraff 'Le péan delphique à Dionysos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 97—208, 1925 xlix. 104—142, 1926 l. 263—304, 1927 li. 423—468 (text reconstituted on p. 465 ff.).

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleüs*. O. Broneer in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 564 with fig. 8 publishes a white marble slab—part of a gaming board—found in the well of a shop at Corinth, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΟΣ and ΔΑΜ[- -]ΙΗ(?N)N again associating Zeus *Bouleüs* with Demeter.

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleüs* or *Eubouleüs* grouped with Demeter and Kore. With this chthonian triad M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 87 justly cp. the Damateres and Zeus *Damatrios* of two Rhodian dedications ((1) found by the Danish excavators on the *akropolis* of Lindos [Ἰ]λιαδᾶν. Δαματέρων καὶ Διὸς Δαματρίου, (2) found at *Siana* in Rhodes Ζωνθίου τετραδί ἰσταμένη Δαματέρσι οὖν κνεύσαν. Both

inscriptions are of late Hellenistic date). Nilsson comments: 'Die Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen als *Δαμάρετες*, die m. W. sonst nicht in Griechenland vorkommt und an das Lateinische Cereres [*Theos. Ling. Lat. Suppl.* i. 341, 57 ff.] erinnert, lässt sich nur durch ihre Wesensidentität erklären; sie sind sozusagen die ältere und die jüngere Auflage derselben Gottheit' [*supra* i. 396 f.].

ii. 259 n. o Zeus *Boulaïos*. His cult at Thasos (noted in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 p. 288, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537 n. 3) is attested by a couple of dedications (G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 57 f. no. 9 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *prytaneion*, with oval sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Ἐστίνη | Βουλαίη καὶ Δαί | Βουλαίωι, no. 10 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *theōrion*, with rectangular sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Ἰστίνη Βουλαίη [καὶ Δαί Βουλαίωι] | Σπράτων Νεομάν[δρου] | Πολίτιμος Ὀρθομέ[νους] | Ἀριστείδης Ἀλλ[- - -]).

ii. 260 n. o. On the identification of Augustus with Zeus *Patrōios* as evidenced by Pergamene inscriptions see W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 ix. 177—188.

ii. 260 n. o Zeus in connexion with mills. W. Schultz *Ratsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* Leipzig 1912 ii. 109 with n. 2, Keyssner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 1044 f., gr. Kruse *ib.* xvi. 1073, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 643.

ii. 264 Dionysos displaced by Apollon. C. Watzinger in Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 340 ff. pl. 174. 1 discusses the fragment of a *kályx-kratér* from Tarentum, now at the Hague, which shows a Doric temple (at Delphoi?) containing a cult-statue of Apollon with bow and *phiale*. Before the temple are seated Apollon (lyre) and Artemis (spears), while beyond the tripod the reverse scene comprises Dionysos (ivy-wreath, *nárthex*), a Maenad (timbrel), and a Silenos (*kántharos*).

ii. 268 n. o the earth-goddess riding on a bull. See W. Technau 'Die Göttin auf dem Stier' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 76—103 figs. 1—14 (especially p. 95 f.).

ii. 268 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 91 n. 1 notes that C. W. Vollgraff ΕΠΙΦΘΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΑ ΕΙΗΕΤΟΧ [*Supra* Addenda to ii. 121] p. 19 ff. 'suggère un rapport entre Dionysos et le sumérien Domouzi, plus tard appelé Tamouz.'

ii. 270 n. 3. L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 174 cites two reliefs published by G. I. Kazarow ('Zum Kultus des thrakischen Reiters in Bulgarien' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 6 ff. fig. 3 and 'Ein neues Relief des dreiköpfigen Reiters' *ib.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 232 ff. fig. 1) in which the rider-god is three-headed and followed by a male figure grasping his horse's tail. The first, from the district of Plovdiv, is inscribed κυρίω θεῶ : Ἀβλουζένης Λογγίνου, | Ἀβλουζένης Δουζήρου (O. Weinreich *ib.* 1927 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 20 n. 4). The second, from *Komatzevo* a village near Philippopolis, is inscribed [θε]ῶ Πανθ[ο]ποιῶ | [Ἀ]λέξανδρος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ | καὶ τῆς γ[υνα]ικὸς εὐχαριστήρων (Kazarow *loc. cit.* p. 234), or possibly [θε]ῶ Πανθ[ο]π[ι]τ[ω] (Weber *loc. cit.*), with Thracian θ for τ.

ii. 270 n. 5. G. Kazarow in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 490 records the proper name Βαζό-βαλς (*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bord aux* iv. 93).

ii. 278 n. 2 the Phrygian *formula* of execration. W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum iii' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvii. 22—28 adds fresh examples, and contends 'that they all belong to the latter half of the third century [A.D.], and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreian Association' [on which see now the useful article of W. Ruge 'Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 158—169, also Canon E. C. Hudson 'Pisidian Antioch and the Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in *Theology* 1938 xxxvi. 230—236]. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvii. 29 ff. appends a few notes. He objects to Calder's acceptance of Kretschmer's rendering *θεως κε ζεμελως* 'heavenly and chthonian gods': 'This...does not take account of the very definite statement in Hesychius: ζεμελεν· βάθβαρον ἀνδράποδον· φρίγες. The Boghaz Keui texts clear up the difficulty. The Phrygian phrase corresponds with the Hittite "the gods and the dead" (*akandus*). The dead were deified, and ζεμελεν must have literally signified "ghost" or "devil"^{2u} (^{2d} Cp. "printer's devil" in English).' J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachd.* *Winkler* Berlin 1932 pp. 128—140 has a handy collection of all the texts. On the Phrygian language in general and its *grave-formula* in particular see N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 141—153.

ii. 281 Zeus *Dios* with grape-bunches and a plough. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 453 cites W. M. Calder *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1928 i p. xiii for 'le Zeus aux épis et Diounsis (= Dionysos), gardien de la tombe.'

The reference is to Calder *op. cit.* i. 4 no. 5 an altar of bluish limestone at *Shahr Ören* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Μεῖρος Νανία ἀνέστησεν κατὰ | κέλευσιν τοῦ Διός*. On the shaft are three reliefs: (a) in front, a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and an ear of wheat; (b) to the left, two wheat-ears planted in round bowls (?); (c) to the right, a pedestal supporting a bust of Helios, radiate. *Ib.* i. 5 no. 7 an altar of bluish limestone at *Kadyn Khan* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Εὐ[.....] | οἰκονόμος Διὶ | Φατνίῳ κατὰ | κέλευσιν*. On the shaft in relief is a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and coin-ears. W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 135 no. 2 restored *Εὐ[δαίμων?]* and added: 'Eu[*daimon?*] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma... About thirty another *oikonomos*. Ca[*ndidus?*] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos.'²⁹ (²⁹The dedication is to *ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ*... which halts between Jove and Jehovah...) at Zizyma.' Calder *op. cit.* i. 216 f. no. 413. 5 a sculptured *stèle* from *Baghlija* in Eastern Phrygia, which names *Διονυσῶν* as guardian of the grave.

ii. 282 Zeus *Dionysos*. D. Detschew in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1934 xxix Beiblatt p. 165 f. fig. 60 (=my fig. 884) publishes a square altar of grey marble, still

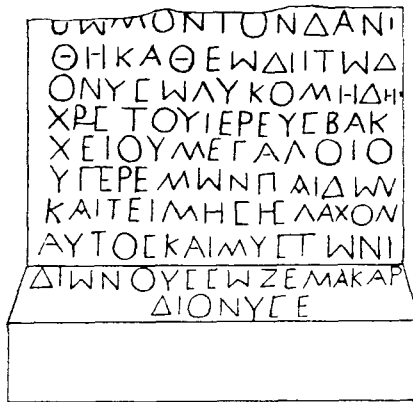


Fig. 884.

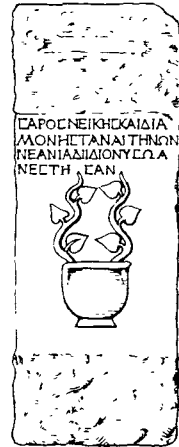


Fig. 885.

used to support the table-top in the church of the village *Sarmadzik* (Bezirk *Malko-Tirnov*, Regierungskreis *Burgas*) in Bulgaria. On the altar is inscribed in would-be hexameters: *βῆμόν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκα θεῷ Διὶ τῷ Δ[ι]ονύσῳ Λυκομήδης | Χρῆστου ἱερέως Βακχείου μεγάλου | ὑπὲρ εὐῶν παίδων | καὶ τεμῆς, ἧς λάχον | αὐτός, καὶ μυστῶν ἰδίων, οὓς ὥφε μάκαρ | Διόνυσε*. Detschew *ib.* p. 166 collects evidence for the identification of Zeus with Dionysos (for Orph. *frag.* 235 Abel, 236 Kern ἀγλαὲ Ζεὺ Διόνυσε κ.τ.λ. see *supra* i. 187 n. 10). W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1939 vi. 123 no. 360 pl. 62 (=my fig. 885) publish an altar of bluish limestone from *Hacı Beili* in the Upper Tembris Valley (front relief, *kratér* with ivy-sprays; back, snake biting grape-vine) inscribed [*ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου (?) Καί] σαρῶς νέκης καὶ διὰ μνησ Ταυατηνῶν | νεανία(ε) Διὶ Διονύσῳ ἀνέστησαν*.

ii. 285 n. o (2). Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 p. 212 ff. fig. 4 gives a drawing (inexact) of this relief and its inscription made in 1884.

ii. 285 n. o (4). M. V. Taylor and R. G. Collingwood in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1929 xix. 199 pl. 9 publish a similar *plaque* of base silver, with figures of the three Mother Goddesses in *repoussé* work, found in London, and note other examples from Barkway in Hertfordshire. See also *supra* p. 1100 fig. 878.

ii. 290 n. o the tombstone of Abirkios and Theuprepia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 240 ff. fig. 5.

ii. 290 n. o the head as the seat of the soul. See further G. A. Grierson 'The Headless Horseman' (an Indian ballad) in *Folk-Lore* 1914 xxv. 382, H. A. Rose

'Sacrifices of the Head to the Hindu Goddess' (Devī) *ib.* 1926 xxxvii. 90—92, Bargheer s.v. 'Kopf' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 203 ff. Cp. A. Delatte 'ΑΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 189—249, *id.* in the *Musée Belge* 1922 xxvi. 255—259, K. Preisendanz *Akephalos der kopflose Gott* Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—80, Pfister *Kel. Gr. Kom.* 1930 p. 325 f.

ii. 291 n. 2 *συκοφάντης*. K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A 1028—1031 demurs to my explanation ('wobei nicht zu sehen ist, wie aus der Abwehr drohenden Unheils der verleumderische Angriff geworden sein soll') and falls back on that of A. Boeckh *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*³ Berlin 1886 i. 56 ('σ. bezeichne jemand,



Fig. 886.

der um einer Sache von geringem Wert willen eine Anzeige erstattet (vgl. etwa ital. ammazzar qualcuno per uno fico "jemand um nichts ermorden"). Andererseits ist die Beziehung auf die Phasis in dem zweiten Teil des Wortes offenkundig und gibt ihm erst seinen Inhalt, denn bei der Phasis erhielt der obsiegende Kläger die Hälfte der Strafsumme oder des eingezogenen Vermögens').

ii. 295 n. 2. A. Carnoy 'Les noms de Déméter et de Coré' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Melanges Bidez) pp. 71—77 would connect Δημήτηρ with γῆ and derive Περσεφόνη from *φερσι-φώνη, 'qui apporte l'abondance.'

ii. 296 Attis and the Kouretes. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I *Arch. Anz.* pp. 521—524 fig. 1 (=my fig. 886) gives a preliminary publication of a

silver *patera* rescued from oblivion by Miss A. Levi and now in the Brera at Milan. When found at Parabiago in Lombardy it was serving as the lid of a grave-*amphora*. It shows in fine relief of c. 150—200 A. D. the triumph of Attis. He is seated with Kybele in a car drawn by four lions and accompanied by three dancing Kouretes. Above are the rising Sun and setting Moon with Morning and Evening Stars. Below, Okeanos and a Nereid, with fish showing their heads above water. On the left, two Fresh Water Nymphs with reeds. On the right, Earth with *cornu copiae*, various animals, and a pair of infants. Between, the four Seasons as children. Higher up, Atlas carrying Aion in a zodiacal ring, and an Obelisk twined about with a snake. This cosmic design on a concave circular field is a magnificent specimen of symbolic art, and is to be published with full commentary by Miss Levi in *Opere d' Arte del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte* (Roma).

ii. 297 fig. 189. See now J. Leipoldt 'Eine römische Attisfigur' in *Δγγελος* 1926 ii. 51 f. with a good photographic pl., and cp. Attis as a recumbent figure on coins of Kyzikos (C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 443 f. fig. 10).

ii. 298 fig. 190. F. J. Dolger IXΘYC Munster in Westf. 1927 iv pl. 168 gives a photograph of this singular *modius*.

ii. 300. W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. pp. 655—657 with figs. 10—14 publishes the sarcophagus of a priest of Kybele and Attis, found in a large *columbarium* at Porto. The lid shows the priest recumbent, his left hand with five thick rings supporting his head, his right with *δκαβος* or 'arm-band' holding pine-sprig and rosary. The arm-band is decorated with reliefs of Kybele seated between two standing figures, Attis and Hermes. And at the priest's feet is the usual *kiste*. Two oblong reliefs from the same find-spot represent the same priest with his *insignia* offering fruit before a seated Kybele and holding torches before a standing Attis.

ii. 300 n. 3. Photographs in Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 254 ff. Scala v no. 2 pl. 100, F. J. Dolger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1933 iv. 1 pl. 4 (Moscioni no. 20 947).

ii. 305 n. 0 the Gosforth Cross. See now R. Reitzenstein *Weltuntergangs-vorstellungen* (Sonderabdruck aus *Kyrko-historisk Årsskrift* 1924) Uppsala 1924 p. 41 ff. figs. 2—7, *id.* 'Die nordischen, persischen und christlichen Vorstellungen vom Weltuntergang' in the *Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg 1925—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 160 ff. pls. 2—4 figs. 3—10.

ii. 307 n. 1 the epitaph of Aberkios. See further A. Abel 'Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercius' in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 321—411.

ii. 312 n. 5 *παρὰ δὲ Λυδοῖς ὁ Ζεὺς Ζεῦσις*. A. Nehring in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 588 supports *Ζεῦσ-ις* as a Lydianised form of *Ζεὺς* by quoting *ιδέσις-ις* and the like from Lydian inscriptions.

ii. 313 ff. the *Kabeiroi*. The fullest survey of the facts is that given by O. Kern 'Kabeiros...und Kabeiroi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1399—1450, with supplementary notes by the same author 'Καβιριακά' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 551—553 and 'Noch einmal Karkinos' *ib.* 1920—1921 xx. 236.

G. Pansa 'La leggenda di traslazione di S. Tommaso apostolo ad Ortona a mare e la tradizione del culto cabirico' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École française de Rome) 1920 xxxviii. 29—62, carrying further the contention of J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 20—41 that S. Thomas as 'twin' brother of Jesus was essentially Dioscuric.

A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 163 would identify *Κάβειροι* with *Κhabiryas* the body-guard of the Hittite kings, and so derive them ultimately from the *Khabiri* or 'Comrades' of Babylonia. He notes an early deified Hittite king *Khavamilis* as = *Κασιείλος*.

ii. 314 f. *Axiokersa*, *Axiokersos*, *Axieros*. O. Montelius *La Grèce préclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 121 with figs. 349 and 351 regarded as sacred axes the tapering stone heads (in two cases painted) stuck into terra-cotta bodies, which Wace found at *Rakhmani* in Thessaly [A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 41 with fig. 25, a, b, c].

E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 225 is content to explain 'Αξιόκερσος and 'Αξιόκέρσα as deities (Hades and Kore) 'who slay valuable beasts (δέξια) with the sickle-knife' and 'Αξιερος as the goddess (Demeter) 'who receives valuable victims.'

A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 162 connects 'Αξιό-κερσος, 'Αξιο-κέρσα with Hesych. *κέρνα*: *ἀξίνη* and in the other Hesychian glosses (quoted *supra* ii. 315 n. 1) *εὐ-ἀμῆσαι* or *φαμῆσαι* for *γαμῆσαι* cod. and *γάλλος* for *γάμος* cod.

G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 60 n. o discusses coins of Odessos with legend θεοῦ μεγάλου ΚΥΡΣΑ (*supra* ii. 1126 figs. 952, 953) and the possibility that Κύρσα = Κέρσα was the name of an indigenous deity akin to Ἀξιοκέρσης (*sic*). *Id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 249 is even more venturesome (κύρσιος Σάραπις) or Σα(βάσιος)!). But A. Salač 'Le grand dieu d'Odessos-Varna et les mystères de Samothrace' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 395—398 had already argued that the Theos Megas at Odessos was *Δαρζάλας or Δερζέλας, one form of the chief male divinity of the ancient Thracians.

For Ἀξί-eros as the 'Axe-Eros' cp. *Anakr. frag.* 47 Bergk⁴, 48 Edmonds, 45 Diehl *ap.* Hephaist. 12. 4 p. 39, 5 f. Consbruch μεγάλη δηῦτέ μ' Ἔρως ἔκοψεν ὥστε χαλκεύς | πέλεκυι with the comments of E. Schwyzer 'Axt und Hammer' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 314—318 (πέλεκυς = σφυροπέλεκυς, a smith's axe serving also as a hammer).



Fig. 887.



Fig. 888.

ii. 316 Zeus transformed into Eros. Such a concept provides a partial justification for the late syncretistic figures of Zeus *Pántheos* (L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 141 no. 176 cites a dedication from Carthage, now in the Louvre, Δι' Ἡλίω Μεγάλω Πανθέω Σαράπιδι = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no 12493) or Iupiter *Pantheus* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5423 (Nescania Baeticae) Iovem Pantheum Aug | cum aede et tetrastylō solo [p]ub. etc.). A bronze from the Gréau collection, obtained from Greece in 1885 and now in Paris (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 17 no. 4 'Zeus panthée?.' De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 71 no. 482 pl. 36 (= my fig. 887): height 0'192^m), shows a nude Zeus with the wings of Eros, the greaves of Ares, and a *stephane* surmounted by three 'fleurons.' Another, from Cahon (Somme), now at Abbeville (C. Louandre in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements Cinquième Série* 1873 v. 322—327, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 8 no. 2 'Zeus Panthée') shows a nude Iupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle, with the wings

of Victory, the rayed crown of Apollo (Sun), the disk and horns of Isis (Moon), the cock of Mercury, the fawn-skin of Bacchus, the *cornu copiae* of Ceres or Fortuna or Abundantia, and a Gaulish *armilla* on his right arm (my fig. 888 is from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Richard, Conservateur des Musées, Abbeville).

ii. 321 n. 1. A votive inscription to Zeus 'Ἐπιδώρας in Messenia is noted by M. N. Tod in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xliv. 89 and by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 196 after N. S. Valmin in the *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1928—1929 iv. 1 ff. no. 22 (at *Gricokampos*) Δι' Ἐπιδώρα.

ii. 322 ff. Janiform deities. C. N. Deedes 'The Double-headed God' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 194—243 with 30 figs. attempts a conspectus of the evidence (Sumerian, Syro-Hittite, Greek, Etruscan, Italian, Celtic, mediaeval).

ii. 326. 374 f., 377 f. Janiform masks V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 275 reports that two-faced masks are worn by men on Feb. 2 at Arles-sur-Tech in the French Catalan Pyrenees. *Ead.* 'The Candlemas Bear' in *The National Review* 1931 xcvi. 235—244 gives further details. The same observer and R. Gallop in their joint article in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 352 f. state that at Arles-sur-Tech the Candlemas Bear is escorted by from four to twelve two-faced attendants, who wear women's cotton dresses, leathern belts with eight or ten cow-bells attached, and small barrels painted with a face fore and aft by way of head-dress.

ii. 328 ff. the Salian Hymn. On Italian and Dutch reconstructions of the *carmen Salare* by E. Cocchia (1917), F. Ribezzo (1917—1918), and P. J. Enk (1921) see M. Bacherler in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1925 ccv. 84.

ii. 335 Ianus. O. Huth *Ianus* Bonn 1932 pp. 1—96 is adversely criticised by H. J. Rose in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 329—331. Huth finds the essence of Ianus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign Ⓞ . But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign Ⓞ was not runic (? cp. H. Arntz *Die Runenschrift Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmäler* Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

ii. 337 n. 4 *diom deo*. Cp. Tertull. *ad Scap.* 4 (i. 782 A Migne) tunc et populus adclamans deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iovis nomine deo nostro testimonium reddidit. *Supra* p. 327.

ii. 339 n. Ⓞ tirs = 'lunae.' See further C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1056 f.

ii. 340 n. Ⓞ Dæmonium , quod rustici Dianam appellant. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1092 f. 'Acta Symphoniani Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 70 [*ib.*² Amstelaedami 1713 p. 82]. *Dianam quoque daemionium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compta currens et silvarum secreta perlustrans incredulis hominum mentibus incantato tribulos sceleris sui arte disseminat. Tivivae sibi cognomen dum trevis insidiatur obtinuit.' Cp. S. Eitrem in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 32 n. 1 'das daemionium meridianum, das die Christen Diana nannten.' It is tempting to suppose a mere confusion between meridianum and Diana. But see V. Alford—R. Gallop 'Traces of a Dianic Cult from Catalonia to Portugal' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 350—361 (p. 358 f. 'Immediately to the west of the Basque lands we find the word *jana* in all its purity. In Sardinia *jana* means witch. In the old Neapolitan dialect *Janara* means nymph... The old Spanish form was *Jana*. In the Montaña de Santander we find *Janassana*... In Asturias *Dianu* means Devil, and the *Diano Burlón* is a kind of faun. In Galicia...the Devil is again *o Dianu*... In Portugal...Diãho. In the Algarve, women called *Jas* or *Jans* for whom it used to be customary to leave a skein of flax and a cake of bread on the hearth.' Etc.).*

ii. 343 *Zavi* 'Ἐλευθερίοι = Antoninus Pius. W. Peck in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1931 p. 114 quotes O. Puchstein *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta* Strassburg 1881 no. 56 = F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Historische griechische Epigramme* Bonn 1926 no. 118 *Καίσαρι παντομῶδοντι καὶ ἀπειρων κρατέοντι | Ζαὶ τῶν ἐκ Ζανὸς πατρὸς Ἐλευθερίωι.*

ii. 343 *Zāves*. Cp. Epiphani. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) *Ζῆνες δὲ οὐχ εἰς ἡ δὴ δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες γεγόνασι τὸν ἀριθμὸν. κ.τ.λ.*

ii. 344 n. Ⓞ Δεύς . This form of the name occurs also on a two-handled Rhodian jar of c. 400 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (T. L. Spear in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1908 xxix. 461—466 with pl., C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 pp. 67, 293), which bears the painted inscriptions ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΣ ΗΑ ΒΡΑΣΙΑ | ΗΛΣ ΕΜΙΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ (would-be iambic) and ΔΕΥΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΣ | ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ.





a



b

Marble head of Pan from Greece, now in the British Museum.

See page 1131.

ii. 347 ff. Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθηκεν. The literature of this famous episode (*supra* ii. 349 n. 20) should include I. Nyman *De magno Pane Plutarchi* Upsaliae 1734, W. H. Roscher 'Die Legende vom Tode des groszen Pan' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1892 cxlv. 465—477, E. Nestle 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 156—158, O. Weinreich 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' *ib.* 1910 xiii. 467—473, A. Taylor 'Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan' in *Washington University Studies Series iv 1922* (Humanistic Series x. 1) pp. 3—102 (discusses 246 variants and concludes that 'the voice of loud lament is an hallucination, an auditory illusion, and not a myth relating to the spirits of vegetation'), A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1923 xxxvii. 164 (cp. Hdt. 6. 105), O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925—1924 xxii. 328—330, G. Méautis 'Le grand Pan est mort' in the *Musée Belge* 1927 xxxi. 51—53 (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 12 ἐνίοι δὲ Παμύλην τινὰ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις ὑδρευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς φωνῆν ἀκούσαι διακελευομένην ἀνειπεῖν μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΟΣΙΡΙΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ).

Fresh light has been thrown upon the whole business by a simple but convincing discovery of A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 147 'Πᾶν ist nicht "der Hirte," sondern der "Papa," gehört zu den "Lallnamen" Kretschmers 334 f. [P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 334 ff.] Das weibliche Gegenstück zu Ila ist Ma, in Arkadien als Maia, Mutter des Hermes Μαῖαδεὸς erhalten.' If so, Pan was in effect another Zan, and I had no need to postulate that the former had stepped into the shoes of the latter. Pan the Great was all along a parallel figure to Zan the Great. Pan the goatherds' god took the form of a goat just as Zan the oxherds' god took that of an ox (*supra* ii. 345). And the ritual of the dead Pan, implied by Plutarch's narrative, may well have resembled the ritual of the dead Zan.

On this showing Pan was a more dignified deity than advancing civilisation was prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the *amende honorable* by devising a type which gave the god an almost Zeus-like majesty and yet by retaining curved horns and prick ears, a shag of hair and a twist of lip, contrived to remind men that after all he was but a glorified goat. H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1931—1932 vi. 33 f. pl. 16 was able to publish a head in Pentelic marble (height 8¼ inches) recently acquired in Greece. Relying presumably on the proportions of the eye, the absence of overlapping lids, etc. he ventures to say: 'the style recalls some of the heads on the Parthenon metopes. It certainly cannot be dated later than the latter part of the fifth century.' My pl. lxxx is from the official photographs.

ii. 347 n. ο Hipta. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1926 xv. 76 ff. takes Hipta to be an Asiatic mother-goddess = the Hittite *Hepit*.

ii. 350 Dodona. For the recent excavations at Dodona see G. Sotiriadis 'Fouilles de Dodone' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1921 xxxiv. 384—387 and D. Euangelides in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1930 pp. 52—68, *ib.* 1931 pp. 83—91, *ib.* 1932 pp. 47—52 and as reported by E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 220 f., by D. M. Robinson *ib.* 1933 xxxvii. 128, by H. G. G. Payne in the *Journ. Hill. Stud.* 1930 l. 242, *ib.* 1931 li. 194 f., *ib.* 1932 lii. 245, *ib.* 1933 liii. 182, by H. Megaw *ib.* 1936 lvi. 147.

ii. 359 ff. the Triumphal Arch. On distyle bases at Delphoi see É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 472—481, *id.* *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 148 f., 164—168, 202—205, F. Courby in *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. i. 44, M. P. Nilsson 'Les bases votives à double colonne et l'arc de triomphe' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 143—157. The origin of the Triumphal Arch is still a bone of contention, not to say a body of Euphorbos: e.g. G. Patroni 'L'origine degli archi trionfali' in *Historia* 1927 i. 3. 3—30 with 3 figs. (criticises G. Spano, E. Lowy, etc. and stresses Etruscan influence), E. Löwy *Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens* Wien 1928 pp. 1—40 with 3 pls. and 89 figs. (summarised in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 170 and in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1927 xvii. 249), M. P. Nilsson 'The Origin of the Triumphal Arch' in *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 1932 ii. 132—139, I. A. Richmond 'Commemorative Arches and City Gates in the Augustan Age' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xviii. 149—174 with pls. 15—19 and 11 figs. (follows Nilsson and urges that the main purpose of the Arch was to serve as a base for statues), H. Petrikovits 'Die Porta triumphalis' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii. 187—196 (insists on the religious significance of the victors returning under this Arch, compares the passage of the vanquished *sub iugum*, and the sale of prisoners *sub hasta*, ending with a bibliography of 45 items). Much that is relevant had already been said by A. von Domaszewski 'Die Triumphstrasse auf dem Marsfelde' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 67—82 (= *id.* *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 pp. 217—233 with additional n. by B. Kahle).

- ii. 361 with fig. 254. H. Mattingly in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. iii. pp. ci, 177 f. pl. 31, 6—9.
- ii. 364 the 'yoke' of spears. M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic Spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 122—127 (*sub iugum, sub hasta*, etc.).
- ii. 373 Ianus *Quadrifrons*. A late Etruscan scarab of cornelian, mounted on a gold swivel, shows a bearded head of Ianus *Quadrifrons* wearing a *phéasos* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 59 no. 327 pl. 9, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 88 no. 714 pl. 12: from the Castellani collection).
- ii. 381 ff. double herms. R. Lullies *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 66—69 ('Doppelhermen mit nach entgegengesetzten Seiten blickenden Köpfen') argues that this type was originally intended to represent 'Hermes als Totengott' (*ib.* p. 86)—a view questioned by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 330.
- ii. 382 n. 1 double bust of Dionysos. Cp. a fine archaistic double bust at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 151 Dionysos pl. 11).



Fig. 889.

- ii. 385 n. o 'Αργειφώντης. Earlier interpretations in O. Neckel 'Αργειφώντης' *Progr. des Gymn. Friedland* 1886 pp. 10—12, Sven Linde 'Über 'Αργειφώντης, dessen Form und Bedeutung' in *Skandinavisches Archiv* 1892 i. 394—414.
- ii. 386 Odhin's broad hat. H. Naumann 'Breithut' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1550—1552 (cp. *id. ib.* i. 1386 f. 'Blauhütel').
- ii. 388 double busts of Hermes and Herakles. P. E. Visconti 'Ermeracle' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1872—1873 pp. 97—102 pl. 1. Another of Hermes (*phéasos*) and Herakles (lion-skin) at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 267 pl. 19).
- ii. 390 with pl. xxi Janiform *aryballos* of male and female Dionysiac heads. See now J. D. Beazley 'Charinos' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 61 (Group N, no. 1 'head of Herakles and woman's head' [?]).
- ii. 392 with fig. 300 double bust of Apis and Isis. H. Gressmann in the *Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Berlin—Leipzig 1926 p. 183 pl. 3 fig. 6 assigns this bust to the time of Hadrian and regards it as combining the human and animal forms of Hathor. J. Leipoldt in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. vi with fig. 25 ('Die Büste 25 ist insofern altägyptisch empfunden, als Isis auch mit einem Kuhkopfe ausgestattet ist (allerdings handelt sich um eine künstliche Ägyptisierung; es fehlen altägyptische Analogien einer derartigen Isis).') Etc.).
- ii. 392 ff. double herms at Nemi. On Feb. 10, 1930, during the excavation of Caligula's second galley, a double herm of bronze was found, representing the conjoined heads of a bearded and a beardless Satyr. The former is wreathed with vine-leaves and

grapes, the latter with pine and cones: both wear a *nebris* (W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 351 with fig. 13). In the summer of 1931 further work on the second galley brought to light another double herm of bronze, the exact counterpart of the first, and a third combining two youthful female heads wreathed with ivy and draped. There can be no doubt that all these herms served as decorative posts of the ship's rail (*id. ib.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 648 with figs. 4 and 5). In the spring of 1932 yet another bronze double herm from the rail was found (*id. ib.* 1932 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 479). See also *The Daily Telegraph* for June 18, 1931 p. 9 and *The Illustrated London News* for July 4, 1931 p. 19.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 889, *a-c*) a small double bust of white marble in my collection (height $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches), which represents *adossés* a bearded and a beardless Satyr, wreathed with ivy. It probably topped a slender pillar in somebody's peristyle in s. i A.D.



Fig. 890.

ii. 394 foliate faces. T. Tindall Wildridge *The Grottesque in Church Art*² London s.a. p. 112 ff. ('Masks and Faces') gives examples of foliate masks at Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), Dorchester (Oxfordshire), St Mary's Minster (Isle of Thanet), Westminster Abbey, Ewelme (Oxfordshire), Lincoln Cathedral, etc. C. J. P. Cave 'The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* Cambridge 1932 xxxii. 35 f. with pl. 2 shows bosses representing heads with oak-leaves coming out of mouth and nostril. Cave acutely conjectures 'some survival from pre-Christian times.' Finally Lady Raglan 'The "Green Man" in Church Architecture' in *Folk-Lore* 1939 l. 45-57 figs. 1-17 concludes that classical and quasi-classical types (figs. 10-13) were from s. xiii. onwards influenced by 'the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, the King of May, and the Garland.' In 1934 I acquired from Mr J. Sinclair of Swanage a limestone corbel (height $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches) said to have come from a fourteenth-century continental church. It represents (fig. 890, *a, b*) a male head with oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears, and bears traces of yellow priming and red paint.

ii. 405 ff. Artemis Ephesia. On all the types of this goddess see now the excellent monograph by H. Thiersch *Artemis Ephesia* (*Abh. d. gott. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1935 Folge iii Nr. 12) Teil i Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler. Mit 76 Tafeln u. 4 Textabbildungen.

ii. 407 n. o. On stags in relation to Artemis (Ma, Anaitis, etc.) see S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 151 f., who cites F. Cumont 'L'archevêché de Pédachtoé et le sacrifice du Faon' in *Byzantion* 1931 vi. 521—533 ('Voilà bien un banquet rituel, tradition païenne christianisée').

ii. 410 n. o. Ἐφέσια γράμματα. See further A. Deissmann 'Ephesia Grammata' in the *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft* (Baudissin-Festschrift) ed. W. Frankenberg—F. Kuchler (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 1918 xxxiii. 121—124).

ii. 410 n. o. On the occurrence of Zeus-emblems (thunderbolt and bay-wreath) in relation to Artemis *Ephesia* see H. Thiersch *op. cit.* i. 46 ff., 65 ff., who notes a statue of s. ii A.D. in the Museum at Tripolis (no. 29 pl. 27, 1, 3, 4) and a mosaic from Poggio Mirieto in the Vatican (no. 56 pl. 46).

ii. 411 Bendis. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 87 n. 3 draws attention to the numerous representations of Bendis on the rocks of Philippi (*ib.* 1922 lxxxvi. 117 ff.).

ii. 411 n. 6. C. Picard—C. Avezou 'Le testament de la prêtresse thessalienne' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 38 ff. correct P. Perdrizet's reading *ἰέρεια θύσα* | *εὐεία Πρηνόφορον* to *ἰέρεια οὐσα* | *Εὐεία Πρηνόφορον*, 'Eueia daughter of Prinophoros,' and show that the remainder of this much-misunderstood inscription refers to the ἀπόκλιση or ritual burning of roses on the tomb—a very different story.

ii. 419 n. 2. A writer in the *Times Literary Supplement* for June 17, 1926 p. 413 justly objects that *scomparsé* means 'vanished,' not 'scattered.'

ii. 421 Artemis *Orthia*. H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 *Ergänzungsband* p. 110: 'In Wirklichkeit ist Orthia, was freilich noch niemand gesehen hat, von ὀρθός, "aufrechtstehend," abzuleiten, und der Beiname der Göttin erklärt sich aus den Erektionen der an ihrem Altar gepetschten nackten Junglinge und der Zuschauer.' But such ultra-Aristophanic grossness is quite gratuitous.

ii. 422 the divine Sky as a double-faced god. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣṇā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1919 p. 136 ff. argues for a proethnic Indo-germanic 'zwei-aspektig gedachten herrn gott' with dark and light sides, viz. Varuṇa (also Vrtra) and Dyāuṣ (also Mitra). So in Scandinavia we have Ullr and Týr (also Frøyr), cp. the Van pair of gods Ullin and Fillin (*ib.* pp. 33, 139).

ii. 424 the temple of Aphrodite *Paphia*. See further R. Dussaud—P. Alphantery 'Le sanctuaire primitif d'Aphrodite paphienne' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lvi. 114, 'Fouilles de Rantidi (Chypre)' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 376 f., 'Les divinités de Rantidi (Chypre)' *ib.* 1911 lxiv. 133, C. Blinkenberg *Le temple de Paphos* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* i, 2) København 1924 pp. 1—40 figs. 1—9, S. Casson *Ancient Cyprus Its Art and Archaeology* London 1937 pp. 163 n. 1, 178.

ii. 427 fig. 331. A somewhat clearer illustration of this gilded glass is given by I. Benzinger *Hebraische Archäologie*³ Leipzig 1927 p. 218 with fig. 224.

ii. 434 ff. the Twins. In addition to the monographs of S. Eitrem (*supra* ii. 451 n. 1) and J. Rendel Harris (*supra* i. 760 n. 7) see the contributions of E. S. Hartland 'Twins' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* 1921 xii. 491^a—500^b, Schrader *Reallex.*² i. 588^b, A. H. Krappé *Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique* (extr. from the *Acta philologica Scandinavica*) København 1930 pp. 1—25, Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Aftermath pp. 82, 154.

ii. 436 ff. Kastor and Polydeukes. A. Dohring 'Kastors und Balders Tod' in the *Archiv. f. Rel.* 1902 v. 38—63, 97—104, A. H. Krappé 'Herakles and Greek Dioskouroi Archids' in *The Classical Journal* 1923 xviii. 502—504, G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. (*supra* ou i. 766), A. Puech 'La mort de Castor dans la x^e Néméenne' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 398—403.

H. J. M. Milne in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii. 62 edits a fresh fragment of Bakchylides (?) which tells how one of the Dioskouroi (or possibly Kabeiroi) lives on earth, the other in Hades (A. Vogliano in *Papiri greci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana) Firenze 1932 x. 169 ff. no. 1181 Oxyrhynchos s. ii—iii A.D.): 21 ff. μάλ' ἐγγ[υ]ατο[ι] τ[ο]υ[α]λύρα φάτις | ἐπεὶ δόκ[ι]μο[ι] κία[θε]ν | ἐπ[ε]ῖ πολυ[δ]εν[δ]εῶν ἀκτῶν | κύμα πε[ρ]ῶν | ἀπ' Ἴλιου | θεῶν τί[ς], ἀ]μυφανδῶν [δ' ἀπέδειξεν] | αὐτὴ μένειν τὸν μὲν παρ' Ἄιδι | τὸν δ' οὐλόμεινον κατὰ κ[ό]σμον | προφιγαῖν θά[νατον].

ii. 440 ff. Romulus and Remus. A. H. Krappé 'Notes sur la légende de la fondation de Rome' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 146—152.

K. Scott 'Drusus, nicknamed "Castor"' in *Class. Philol.* 1930 xxv. 155—161 thinks

that Germanicus and the younger Drusus, like Tiberius and the elder Drusus, may have been associated or even identified with Castor and Pollux—a view confirmed by a recently found inscription from Ephesos (*Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 58).

E. Kornemann *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* Leipzig—Berlin 1930 pp. 1—210 is reviewed by M. P. Charlesworth in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii. 143—146.

J. Carcopino 'La louve du Capitole' in the *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* Juillet 1924 pp. 3—19 and Octobre 1924 pp. 16—49.

R. P. Eckels *Greek Wolf-lore* Philadelphia 1937 pp. 1—88 concludes with a discussion of wolf-nurses.

ii. 445 Zethos and Amphion. J. Rendel Harris in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 1926 x. 345 observes that the Egyptian twins Set and Horos were the architects of Thebes in Egypt just as Zethos and Amphion were the architects of Thebes in Greece. He suggests that the name Ζήθος may be simply *Set*, whom Plutarch actually transcribes as ζήθ [Where? Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 41, 49, 62 says Ζήθ without variants. A. B. C.]. A. H. Krappe in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 240 f. repeats and reinforces the conclusions of Rendel Harris.

ii. 445 ff. double-headed deities in Asia Minor etc. G. Contenau 'Idoles en pierre provenant de l'Asie Mineure' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 193 ff. pls. 44—48 publishes six idols in the Louvre, probably found at *Kul-Tépt* ('La colline de cendres') near Kaisereia in Kappadokia, close to Mt Argaios, where a Semitic colony had long been established—witness numerous tablets in cuneiform from the same site. All the six idols are in alabaster, with a reddish patina. They represent deities with one (pl. 44, a), two (pls. 44, b, 45), and three heads (pls. 46, 47, 4), but only a single rounded body. *Id. ib.* p. 200 compares Syrian bronzes in the Louvre, which represent a god embracing a goddess attached to his right leg at the knee, or again four deities arranged fan-wise. *Id. Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 824 f. figs. 593 and 594 dates the Cappadocian idols c. 2000 B.C. and the Syrian bronzes c. 1000 B.C. A better illustration of a two-headed Cappadocian goddess is given in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1936 i. 284 f. fig. A, and of a Syrian group *ib.* Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 109 fig. G. On the significance of polycephalic gods in general see L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 172—175.

ii. 448 n. 0 the sickle of Kronos. See now *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1927 xvii. 65 no. 2080, 71—73 (= Kallim. *frags.* 502 + 172 Schneider) with A. S. Hunt *ad loc.*

ii. 448 n. 2 the sickle of Zeus. See F. Dornseiff 'Die Sichel des Zeus und Typhon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 754—757 fig. 1. *Id. Die archaische Mythenerzählung* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 p. 24 ff. cites *inter alia* a Hittite parallel noted by W. Porzig—'Illujankas und Typhon.' Cp. G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 pp. 87—91 ('Il Mito del dio della tempesta e del serpente Illuyankaš').

ii. 453 ff. the original home of Apollon. Wilamowitz' view that Apollon came from Lykia is energetically attacked also by E. Bethe 'Apollon der Hellene' in *ANTIΔΡΟΝ Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel... gewidmet* Gottingen 1923 pp. 14—21.

F. Poulsen *Delphische Studien* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* viii, 5) København 1924 pp. 3—40 ('Apollon und Asien') suggests that the name *Apollon* is to be explained by the Babylonian terms *aplu* 'the Firstborn' and *aplu asuridu* 'the Firstborn Son,' a fixed epithet of kings in honorific inscriptions. Poulsen sees in Apollon a blend of Šamaš, god of the sun, of wisdom, of law, with Marduk, who as symbolising sunlight fought Tiāmat the dragon of darkness. Hence the lunisolar calendar, the ritual number seven, the *omphalós* (cp. the Babylonian *kudurru*), etc.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 90 f. thinks it possible that the Hellenic Apollon was a blend of (a) a Creto-Anatolian god and (b) a Hyperborean god—each called *Apollon*.

L. Weber 'Apollon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1933 lxxxii. 165—191, 193—229 contends that Apollon, originating in Crete as an archer-god (cp. Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 296 f. fig. 85, where note eye and ear), passed thence *viā* Delos and Lykia to the Troad, was carried across the Bosphoros by the Mysians and Teucrians some time before the Trojan War, and made his way southward through Thrace, Makedonia, and Thessaly to Delphoi. Homeric *epos* represents him as a foe of the Greeks because it was a product of the Aeolians in Thessaly, who were naturally hostile to the god of their northern neighbours. Delos as his cult-centre was prior to Delphoi.

ii. 460 n. 2 (b) Apollon riding on a swan. A rock-crystal scarab of early archaic style shows him thus crossing the sea (waves below, dolphin behind). He guides the swan by the swan with his right hand and holds a leafy branch in his left (Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 96 f. fig. 66, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 55 no. 460 pl. 8).

ii. 462 n. o fig. 362 Zeus drawn by eagles on a disk from Tarentum. Other examples at Trieste and Berlin (P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 43 no. 78).

ii. 464. C. Picard 'La Crète et les légendes Hyperboréennes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 349—360 holds that the sacrifice of asses and other 'Hyperborean' tales belonged originally to Crete, and were transferred to the north only when Crete had been captured by northern invaders. Unconvincing.

ii. 469 n. 1 huius folia noctis et lucis imaginem declarant. Miss G. R. Levy 'The Oriental Origin of Herakles' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 44 well compares Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12. 11 δς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἡὼ καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

ii. 475 Zeus seated, yet hurling a thunderbolt. A silver *statér* of Corinth, struck c. 338—300 B.C., has for symbol Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 33 no. 308 pl. 12, 19. There is a second specimen of the type in *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 96 no. 72. I have a third).

ii. 477 n. o. G. A. Snyder 'De symbolica Phaethontis fabulae interpretatione apud Romanos' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1927 lv. 401—409 claims that in Roman times the myth was interpreted as a Mithraic expression for the ascent of the soul to heaven (*Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 210, cp. S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 218). A. Lesky 'Zum Phaethon des Euripides' in *Wiener Studien* 1932 l. 1—25 puts the play late in Euripides' career and attempts to reconstruct the plot. M. F. Scalfvizzari *Il Mito nel ΦΑΕΘΩΝ di Euripide* Napoli 1937 pp. 1—80 includes a pl. of the Ostia *sarcophagus*.

ii. 483 the *kiskanû*-tree. F. P. Dhorme 'L'arbre de vérité et l'arbre de vie' in the *Revue biblique internationale* Nouvelle série 1907 iv. 272 ff. shows that in the time of Gudea (c. 2600 B.C.) the Babylonians believed in two trees planted at the entry of heaven, *gīs-ti* the 'tree of life' and *gīs-ká-an-na* the 'tree of the gate of heaven.' He says: 'Le *gīs-ti* ou "arbre de vie" ne sera autre que le *kiskanû*, connu sous le nom de *gīs-gan-abzu*.' Dhorme is followed by A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 4. See now S. Langdon 'The Legend of the *kiskanû*' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1928 pp. 843—848. Miss N. Perrot *Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam* Paris 1937 pp. 1—143 with 32 pls., G. Lechler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 372 f.

ii. 484 n. 6. The etymology of ἀπελλών is discussed by F. Muller *Jm Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 348.

ii. 487 n. 3 Apollon as an 'apple'-god. Rendel Harris' view is adversely criticised by J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1921 lxxxvii. 196—200. But there is far more to be said for it than the critics will allow. *Rira bien qui rira le dernier*.

On Demeter Μαλοφόρος at Megara see K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund (1934) p. 174 ff. Terracottas from her sanctuary at Selinunte were published by E. Gábrici in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 pp. 67—91 figs. 1—33, and we have now the same author's sumptuous monograph 'Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 1—419 with 97 pls. and 192 figs. (reviewed by F. von Duhn in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 529—539).

The Times for Oct. 8, 1926 p. 11 in a report by J. Borozdin on 'Excavations in South Russia' notes the discovery by Prof. Farmakovskiy in 1924 of Apollon's temple at Olbia. Its ruins stand in the centre of the old town at the outlet of the river Bug. See further E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2417, 2421.

ii. 493 n. 2 amber routes. The most thorough and authoritative investigation of the subject is that of J. M. de Navarro 'Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy defined by the Amber Trade' in *The Geographical Journal* 1925 lxvi. 481—507 with distribution-maps of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Central Europe and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Central Europe, also a map of Trans-continental Amber Routes distinguishing Central Routes (opened Early Bronze Age), Western Routes (opened Middle Bronze Age), and Eastern Routes (opened Early Iron Age), and two plans of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Italy and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Italy. Mr de Navarro does not deal with the amber trade to Greece and the East Mediterranean area, remarking only 'The Baltic-Black Sea route is, in my opinion, a late development.'

ii. 493 ff. the Hyperboreans. Rendel Harris 'Apollo at the back of the North Wind' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 229—242 includes chapters on 'The prehistoric

amber routes,' 'Apollo and the Hyperboreans,' 'The Apollo stations,' and 'a possible third amber route from the land of the Hyperboreans into Greece.' G. H. Macurdy *Troy and Paonia* New York 1925 pp. 196—210 returns to the subject with a further section on 'The Hyperboreans.' C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1928 lviii. 685 argues thus: 'It seems improbable that barbarians devoid of all Hellenic connections would have troubled to keep in touch with Delian Apollo. The chief Istrian cult was Apolline. Istrus, like other Milesian Pontic Colonies, was populated by Mix-hellenes and monopolized Danubian trade, having factories far up the river. . . Perhaps these barbarized descendants of Istrian, i.e. Milesian, stock sent the offerings. If so, the Herodotean Adriatic route employed about 450 B.C. would have been closed by the Celtic invasions of the early fourth century B.C. and the later Istrus, Sinope, Prasiae-route, of (?) Phanodemus, would have been used subsequently. The fourth century B.C. coins of Istrus and Sinope with identical reverse types point to close connections between these States. Accordingly, if the people who sent offerings to Delos were geographically "Hyperborean," but not racial or mythical Hyperboreans; if they are less likely to have been the barbarian Proto-Hellenic parent-stock left behind in Central Europe than the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian traders located in the south of Central Europe, then there is no longer any need to seek for a partially northern origin for Apollo merely on the grounds of his supposed Hyperborean connections.' This acute hypothesis is welcomed by A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 126 and by M. Cary *ib.* 1929 xliii. 214. The latter, quoting Kallim. *h. Del.* 283 f. οἱ μὲν τοὶ καλάμην τε καὶ ἰερά δράγματα πρώτοι | ἀσταχῶν φορέουσιν, adds: 'Surely, then, they were the ears of wheat whose haulms served as packing.' Yet the actual custom of packing an egg (*Osterei*) in the first or last sheaf, cited by Mannhardt (*supra* ii. 498 n. 2), tempts us to conjecture that the offerings in question were swans' eggs similarly packed: this would at least suit both their Hyperborean starting-point and their Delian destination, and might further be supported by the ritual preservation of Leda's egg (*supra* ii. 1015 n. 7). A more remote parallel may be found in a former (c. 1860 A.D.) usage of the Easter Islanders: the man that brought in the first tern's egg of the year, which his servant had procured from a neighbouring islet, swimming across with it in a small basket tied on his head, was saluted as *Tangata-Manu*, 'Man-Bird,' and chosen as chief for the year (S. Chauvet *L'île de Pâques et ses mystères* Paris 1935 pp. 35—37).

ii. 496 n. ο *fin.* C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 285 n. 1: 'Pour le nom des Perphères d'Hérodote (IV, 32), compagnons des Vierges hyperboréennes, on comparera maintenant l'Hermès Perphéeros d'Amos, sculpté par le Dédalide Épeios, constructeur du Cheval de Troie: un papyrus récent l'a révélé.' Mr H. J. M. Milne kindly refers me to M. Norsa—G. Vitelli ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ *di poemii di Callimaco in un papiro di Tebtynis* Firenze 1934 p. 45 f. col. vii, 32 ff. Ἐρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνείων θεός Περφεραῖος Ἐρμῆς ἐν Αἰῶνι τῆι πόλει τῆς Θράκης τιμᾶται. ἐντεύθεν Ἐπειὸς πρὸ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου ἐδημιούργησεν Ἐρμῆν, δὴ ὁ Σκάμανδρος πολὺς ἐνεχθείς κατέσυρεν· ὁ δ' ἐντεύθεν προσηνήχθη εἰς τὴν πρὸς Αἰῶνι θάλασσαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἀλιεῦμένοι τινες ἀνείλκισαν αὐτὸν τῆι σαγήνῃ. ὅτε δὲ εἰθέασαντο αὐτὸν, καταμεψάμενοι τὸν βόλον πρώτων μὲν σχίζειν τε αὐτὸν <—> καὶ παρακαίειν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον ἐφθασαν ἢ τὸν ὤμον παίσαντες τραύματος τύπον ἐργάσασθαι, διαμπρῆς δὲ ἠσθένησαν· καὶ ὄλον αὐτὸν καίειν ἐπεχείρουν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῶι περιέρρει. ἀπειπόντες <οἶν> κατέρριψαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐδικτυούλκισαν, θεὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι ἢ θεῶι προσήκοντα καθιδρύσαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἱερόν αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆρξάντο τε τῆς ἀγρίας ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου αὐτῶι π*[* * * * *] (πρ[οσε]λθῶν?). τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαντος εἰ[σε]δέξαν]το τῆι πόλει καὶ παραπλησίως [τοῖς θεοῖς] εἰτίμων. Cp. R. Pfeiffer 'Die neuen ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ zu Kallimachosgedichten' in the *Sitzungsber. d. bayern. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1934 x. 29 f.

ii. 500 P'hoibos. W. Schmid 'Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xlii. 217—223 tries to persuade us that Φοῖβος is a metrical substitute for Φόβος!

ii. 505 ff. lightning as a weapon. H. Balfour 'Concerning Thunderbolts' in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 37—49, 168—172 with 23 figs. on 2 pls. surveys and illustrates popular beliefs about 'thunderbolts,' prophylactic or otherwise.

ii. 510 ff. inscribed neolithic celts. The best parallel to figs. 390 and 391 is the implement published by my friend and former pupil J. H. Iliffe 'A neolithic celt with Gnostic inscriptions at Toronto' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 304—309 with 2 figs. It is a polished celt of hard brown stone, acquired in Smyrna but said to have been found at Ephesos, and bears on one side a well-cut design with lettering of s. iv—v A.D. Enclosed by a snake biting its own tail, stands a nude winged and tailed figure holding a whip with double lash in his right hand, a short rod in his left. A bunch of leaves springs from his head, which bears some resemblance to a winged *Gorgóneion* (?). He is flanked by

two tall sceptres with animal-headed(?) tops, and surrounded by words of power: ΑΙΑΟΥΑΗΛ ΠΑΙ ΖΗΘ | ΦΘΛΘΨΖΑ | ΙΑΩΟΥΗΕ ΓΑΒΑΩΘ
ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ || ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑ | ΧΑΜΑΡΕΙ || ΕΕΕΝΓΕΝ | ΦΑΡΑΝΓΗΣ ||
ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ | ΔΑΜΝΑΜΕΝΕΥ.

ii. 512 sliced neolithic celts with added inscriptions. A large oblong axe(?) of brownish green jade, formerly in the collection of J. Martinek, Shanghai, and now in my possession, has been sawn lengthwise and bears on the exposed surface an inscription in archaic Chinese characters, which—Mr A. Waley kindly informs me—are an extract from the *Analects* of Confucius reading: 'Gentlemen use *t'z* (inner power, "virtue" in the sense "potency"). Small men use force.' The *Martinek Sale Catalogue* (Messrs. Puttick and Simpson Dec. 13, 1929) p. 8 no. 67 refers this piece to the Han period.

ii. 513 ff. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult. M. E. L. Mallowan in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 16, 1933 p. 436 f. fig. 7 publishes beads or amulets in the shape of the double axe, which were found in Iraq at *Arpachiyah*, a prehistoric mound four miles east of Nineveh, and are attributed to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. These he claims as prototypes of the 'Minoan' symbol.

B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tubingen 1922 pp. 21—58 ('Die Doppelaxt in nachkretischer Zeit') adduces a mass of miscellaneous evidence, not always judiciously handled.

ii. 516 n. 6 the *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada*. To the bibliography add R. Vallois 'Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1926 pp. 121—132. *Id.* in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 ii. 839—847 cp. a similar arrangement of altar and base in the earliest Artemision at Ephesos.

ii. 518 n. 3 the magpie. R. Riegler 'Die Elster im Mythos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 349—353, Taylor 'Elster' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 796—802.

ii. 519 n. 0 the crow. Euphorion *frag.* 65 Meineke, *ap. schol. Nik. ther.* 406, Peuckert 'Krahe' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 352—370.

ii. 522 n. 2 the colour red. See now the careful compilation of Eva Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung des roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 (reviewed by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102 and by E. Fehrle in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 15, 1926 pp. 520—525).

ii. 528 ff. double axes imbedded in columns. H. Sandars in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 259 f. fig. 2 (= my fig. 891) publishes an Iberian column from the Mina de la Plata between Baeza and Jaen. Its square stone capital is decorated with double axes on all four faces.

ii. 536 hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile. The same peculiar and at present unexplained gesture may be seen in a seated terra-cotta goddess of the 'Geometric' period (height: 4¾ inches), from northern Greece, now in my collection (fig. 862 a, b).

ii. 543 the 'hour-glass' ornament on the indigenous pottery of Apulia perhaps derived from the double axe. This is doubtful. Paintings from the rock-shelters of southern Spain, belonging to the Copper Age, show X or the like as the stylised form of a woman (H. Breuil—M. C. Burkitt *Rock Paintings of Southern Andalusia* Oxford 1929 p. 84 'Spanish Art Group III').

ii. 544 fig. 419 gem from Melos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 objects that 'Minoan' deities are wingless and cj. 'plutôt un génie ptérophore.' Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 187 n. 1 adds: 'upward curved wings do not occur in this age' (cp. V. Müller 'Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der frühkretischen Kunst?' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 54 f. with fig. 1). Lastly, the attitude of *Kmetlauf* (*supra* i. 296 n. 6) also points to a post-Minoan though still archaic period. Probably the term 'sub-Minoan' or 'sub-Mycenaean' would best fit the case. (*supra* on i. 725).

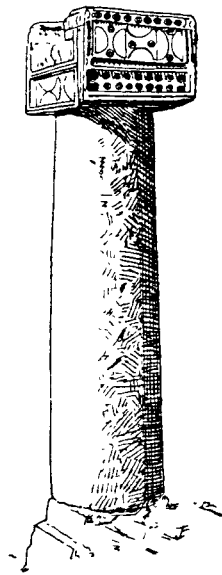


Fig. 891.

One thinks of Daidalos

- ii. 544 n. 3 the Egyptian *neter*. Miss M. A. Murray 'The sign 𓆎' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 312—315 pl. 49 argues that this sign represents a pole with votive streamers and is descended from an early cult of the poplar or willow.
- ii. 547 n. 2 the sacrificial table. H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 p. 32 f.
- ii. 548 n. 0 sword-worship. Among the Quadi (Amm. Marc. 17. 12. 21 quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, aliique optimates et



Fig. 892.

judices, variis populis praesidentes, .eductis...mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide). In the south-east of Sweden (A. Nordén *Ostergötlands Bronsålder* Linköping 1925 pp. 1—407 is summarised by A. J. Uppvall in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 394—397, who notes among the rock-carvings in the region of Bråviken 'gigantic swords...now carried by one man, now by two, and found in processions where one being—a giant—towers above the rest.' Cp. O. Almgren in Ebert *Reallex.* iii. 216 with pl. 51, i, H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 167 ff.).

ii. 549 Kronos swallowing his own children. See now M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* xi. 1991 ff.

ii. 549 *Krónos* as 'Chopper.' R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. 0 attempts to combine two incompatibles: 'Kronos als *Κόρ-νός = Κείρον

= "Schneider" und κρονός "Brunnen".' G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 51 quotes parallels e.g. Κάστος, which 'probably originated in the Semitic root *kāsas, kāsah*, ... "The Cutter, Breaker", and *Mjólnir* the 'Crusher.'

ii. 550 fig. 426. F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 178 f. no. 51 pl. 13, 18 observes that on this coin there is drapery over the back of Kronos' head and a small crown with three peaks, also some object in his left hand.

ii. 550 ff. fig. 428 the dagger-god of Iasily Kaya. See further P. Couissin 'Le dieu-épée de Iasili-Kaia et le culte de l'épée dans l'antiquité' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 107—135 with 21 figs.—an important article on hoplolatry summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 509, G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 970 f. fig. 672, G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 p. 59 f. Good photographs taken in two different lights are supplied by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yazılıkaya* Bamberg 1934 p. 11 no. 82 pl. 30.

ii. 561 Tyrimnos. A. H. Sayce 'The Phrygian hero Tyris' in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 11.

ii. 569 Zeus *Asbamaïos*. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 61 no. 8 figures a marble altar at Amasra in Bithynia inscribed Θεῷ | ἀνεκ-
ήτω | Ἀσβαμεί κα[ι] | Γῆ (?) κυρία κ.τ.λ. E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 605 treats *Asbamaïos* as the equivalent of ὄρκιος.

ii. 570 n. o. *A propos* of Celtic divinities Prof. F. E. Adcock draws my attention to Zeus Βουσσουρίγιος, who is mentioned in two inscriptions of s. iii A.D. from Galatia (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 163 ff. no. 1 at *Akiche Tash* on a block rectangular in section Ἀθήλιος Ἥλιος | Δόμου | κώμης Κλωσ[σαμηνῶν] νεωκόρος τοῦ Διὸς Βουσσουριγ(ί)ου | ζῶν εαυτῷ | κατεσκεύασεν τὸ | μνημεῖον = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4102. No. 2 at *Karayuk* on a stèle surmounted by a fragmentary wreath ΦΑῦρ. Φιλώτας | ΨΣταρελιου | κώμης Ἰκοταρίου ἱκέτης | και ἑπηρετων | Διὸ Βουσσουριγιῶ ζῶν: φρονῶν εαυτῷ τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν. Anderson *loc. cit.* p. 165 adds: 'The epithet Bussurigiōs is undoubtedly Celtic, as is clear from a comparison with Bussumarus or Bussumarius, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4621 with n.]. The termination *-mārus*, 'great,' is common in Celtic personal names.... As Bussumarus is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigiōs is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of *rex* (O. Irish *rí*, gen. *rig*) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names ...').

ii. 578 n. 4. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlv. 399 ff. adds two more inscriptions from Mylasa: no. 4, 15 f. [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ] | [ψήφισ]μα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀσσοῦ κατὰ τὸν νόμον] and no. 5, C 3 f. [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ] | [ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀσσοῦ κατὰ τὸν νόμον]. See further an important paper by A. Laumonier 'Notes sur un voyage en Carie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 31—55 figs. 1—20.

ii. 582 Poseidon originally a specialised form of Zeus. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 72 n. 2 pronounces this view to be 'fort vraisemblable.'

ii. 583 ff. the name *Poseidōn*. A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 3 ff. regards Poseidon as 'ostgriechischer Obergott' and *ib.* p. 7 f. already advances the true derivation of his name: 'Das Wort Poseidon bedeutet vielleicht *Zeús despótēs*. Man kann von der aolischen Form *Ποσειδάν* oder *Ποσιδάν* (vgl. *Ποσιδανία*, lokr. Stadtname) ausgehen. Dan ist Zeus. Die beiden ersten Silben gehen auf skt. *patis* Herr zurück, welchem Stamme auch griech. *πόνια despótēs despouνα* angehören. Danach ist Poseidon ursprünglich ein modifizierter Zeus, der Wortsinn: Gott der Herr, Herrgott.'

A. Carnoy 'Etymologie du nom du dieu de la mer Poseidon' in the *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1924 iii. 390 f.: 'Ποῖς signifiant "maître" (mis au vocatif *Jonne ποῖε*) et un mot *δαῖον* signifiant "eau" et qu'on retrouve dans diverses langues indo-européennes avec le sens de corps liquide.'

G. H. Macurdy 'The Name *Ποσειδάων* and Other Names Ending in *-αων* in the *Iliad*' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1930 li. 286—288 argues that all such names are either Trojan or Northern and postulates a Northern origin for Poseidon.

ii. 587 Zeus *Pálaxos* or *Spálaxos*. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—C. W. M. Cox in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1924 xiv. 71 f. no. 105 pl. 16, 105 a, b publish the back of a limestone seat found at *Ak Kılıse* in Isauria bearing a dedicatory inscription Ποδαδβίου Πολωῶν ἔδραν | και ἡ κώμη αὐτοῦ κατ' ἑναρ (?) | ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸς καὶ Τ[] | Ἄττου, which probably means 'Podadbiou (an indeclinable personal name) dedicated this seat of *Pólaxos* and so did the god's village in accordance with a dream: Podadbiou himself and T... son of Attes set it up.' See further T. Klausner *Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike* Munster in Westf. 1927 p. 49 n. 21.

ii. 587 n. 7. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 2 doubts the equation $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma = \text{balag}$, citing C. Autran 'La Grèce et l'Orient ancien' in *Babyloniaca* 1924 viii. 185 n. 1 ('balag dont le sens probable est bien plutôt de *lyre*, ou *harpe*'), *id.* *Sumérien et Indo-européen* Paris 1925 p. iv n. 1. Further literature on this disputed question is noted by A. Nehring 'Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 31 n. 11.

ii. 594 pectoral ornament (?). In favour of such a $\mu\omicron\sigma\sigma\tau\eta\theta\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ see also W. Muller in the *Rom. Mith.* 1919 xxxiv. 93 ff., C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 p. 529 ff., *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 1, and especially G. Furlani 'Ornamenti astrali e corazze di dei dell'Asia anteriore antica' in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 1931 vii. 43 ff.

ii. 594 the temple of Athena *Aléa*. C. Dugas—J. Berchmans—M. Clemmensen *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au i^{er} siècle* Paris 1924 i. 1—144 with 41 figs. and ii Atlas of 116 pls.

ii. 600 f. The double axe and the Labyrinth. R. Ganszyniec 'Labrys' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 286—307 gives a well-arranged and interesting survey of the facts. Humborg *ib.* xii. 314 f. and G. Karo *ib.* xii. 321 deal with $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\upsilon\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$. G. Dumézil 'AABPTΣ' in the *Journal asiatique* 1929 ccxv. 237—252 derives $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ and its congeners ('l'asiatique et égéen $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\upsilon\text{-}$, $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\upsilon\text{-}$, $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\text{-}$ ') from a pre-Greek word which he connects with the classical and modern Georgian *lahvari*, 'lance.' Early Georgian lances, preserved in churches and museums, have a bifurcated blade. In Mingrelia they are regularly taken to be the arms of St George, who mounted on horseback attacks evil spirits issuing from the sea with his double lance ('il leur porte des coups avec sa lance; chacun de ces coups s'accompagne du tonnerre que nous entendons, et fait jaillir des étincelles, qui sont l'éclair'). Dumézil views the double lance *lahvari* as the lineal successor of the double axe $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, the essential point being its twofold blade ('force redoublée? perfection? union des sexes?')—a convincing conclusion. H. Guntert 'Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1932/3 Abh. i. 1—49 would relate $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\upsilon\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ to $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ 'stone,' and takes $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ as 'Steinbeil.' But his contentions are traversed by P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1934 xxii. 252 f. ('Diese Etymologie scheitert daran, dass $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\upsilon\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\alpha\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ immer nur mit β , $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\varsigma$ dagegen nur mit ν bezeugt ist, die Bed. "Stein" an die Form mit ν geknüpft ist'). See further C. Picard 'Les origines du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 264 f.

ii. 601. H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 thinks that I am here confusing the Quinquennialia of Maxentius, *i.e.* the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial *agon Capitolinus* of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennialia of Maxentius would have fallen in 311, not 312. Also, Lactantius states that the Quinquennialia in question were ending and that Maxentius' day had not yet come. He is probably alluding to the *Iudi Capitolini*, which were still being held (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1528, L. C. Purser in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 86). I adhere therefore to my view as expressed in the text.

ii. 607 E. Conybeare's suggestion that the *labarum* was derived from the *librys*. The same solution of the problem was reached independently by E. Harrison, who however—so far as I know—did not publish it.

H. Grégoire 'L'étymologie de "Labarum"' in *Byzantion* 1927—1928 iv. 477—482 comes to the following conclusion: 'La *laurea* en or qui enferme le Christe est l'élément caractéristique du sublime étendard décoré en outre des images *laurées* des pieux empereurs. De même qu'on disait le *dragon* ou l'*aigle*, *draco*, *aquila*, pour l'étendard surmonté du dragon ou de l'aigle, on a dû qualifier le nouveau *rexillum* à la couronne d'un nom dérivé de *laurea*. Et, de même que le *labarum* n'est qu'une variante du *lauratum*, *laureum* n'est qu'une variante de *laureatum*.'

ii. 613 the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. R. Eisler drew my attention (Oct. 14, 1908) to the small axe received by the Essenes when admitted to the order (Joseph. *de bell. Iud.* 2. 8. 9 $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ δ' ἄλλαις ἡμέραις βόθρον ὀρίσσοντες βάθος ποδῶν τῆ σκαλίδι, τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ δίδόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξινίδιον τοῖς νεοσυστάτοις, καὶ περικαλύψαντες θομάτιον, ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγάς ὑβρίζοιεν τοῦ θεοῦ, θακεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. κ.τ.λ.).

ii. 613 Simias' poem on the axe of Epeios. W. Deonna 'Les "poèmes figurés"' in the *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 1926 l. 187—193 ('Il s'agit d'un procédé instinctif et universel, ancien et moderne, européen ou oriental, qui n'a qu'une intention: résumer en quelque sorte par une image le sens du texte écrit, donner de

celui-ci une transposition figurée. On constate de plus que certains de ces arrangements ont un sens religieux ou magique’).

ii. 614 ff. Zeus (?) and the Centaur. J. C. Hoppin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 443 ff. pl. 6 (part of which = my fig. 893) published a proto-Corinthian *Ikkythos* of the early seventh century at Boston (inv. no. 6508), interpreting the main scene as a Centaur attacked by Herakles (sheathed sword, branch, tree-root). K. F. Johansen *Les vases sicyoniens* Paris—Copenhagen 1923 p. 146 f. fig. 109 pl. 22, 2 d thinks that we have here an early version of the Lapith v. Centaur myth. E. Buschor ‘Kentauren’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 128 f. fig. 1 rightly recognises Zeus with a sword at his side, a sceptre in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left, but would have us believe that the horse-monster is Typhon. To my thinking, this thunderbolt-bearing figure strongly supports our explanation of the axe-bearing figure as Zeus.

ii. 620 Sucaelus the mallet-god. For a Cornish counterpart of Sucaelus see ‘Jack of the Hammer,’ whose exploits are told by W. Bottrell *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* Penzance 1870 p. 10 ff. He passed as ‘a travelling tinkard.. hammer in hand,’ but proved more than a match for Tom the eight-foot giant-killer. ‘The tinkard, taking his black-thorn stick in the middle, made it spin so fast that it looked like a wheel flying round Tom’s head and ears.... Tom didn’t know the play;—though the few downright blows he gave came down with the force of a sledge hammer,



Fig. 893.

they had no effect on the tinkard, because he wore a leather coat, the like of which was never seen in the west country before. This coat, made of a black bull’s hide, left almost whole, was without a seam, and dressed with the curly hair on it. On the breast, back, and shoulders it was as hard as iron, and roared like thunder whenever Tom struck it, which made him think he had to deal with the devil.’ Etc. See further Keune ‘Succellus’ in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 515—540.

ii. 620. Thor’s hammer used as a pendant or amulet is well illustrated by J. J. A. Worsaae *Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjøbenhavn* Kjøbenhavn 1859 p. 113 fig. 469 and P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 65 ff. figs. 24—26 pls. 17, 2 and 23, (3).

ii. 630. Mrs A. Strong ‘Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona’ in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1920 ix. 205—213 pl. 26 discusses an inscribed tombstone from the Via Triumphalis, now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2233 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4182, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 173 f. no. 3876). The relief shows L. Lartius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of Bellona *Pulvniensis* wearing a bay-wreath with three medallions (Mars, Bellona, Minerva?) and carrying in his right hand a bay-branch, in his left two small double axes.

ii. 632 n. 6 axes with animal heads. Other examples are collected by P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 ff. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 15.

ii. 633 fig. 542 f. axes backed by a bull. Cp. G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 43 (*supra* p. 884 n. o).

ii. 635 f. Trojan axe-hammers of blue or green stone. H. Schmidt ‘Zu den trojanischen

Prachtbeilen' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 123—125 (summarised by R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1925 xxxviii. 214 f.), A. M. Tallgren in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 121 pl. 62, a, b, S. Casson 'Battle-axes from Troy' in *Antiquity* 1933 vii. 337—339 pls. 1 ('nephrite, almost indigo in colour') and 2 ('rich blue lapis lazuli flecked with brown spots and striated').

ii. 637 amber axes. An amber axe from Birka in Sweden is published by P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 73 fig. 30, a.

ii. 637 Cretan double axes. S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 251—254 records important finds made at the cave of *Arkalochori* in a hill 1½ hours from Lyktos. First children and then adults of the neighbourhood discovered in one corner of the cave a mass of bronzes and a pair of small double axes in gold. The authorities hearing of it intervened and appropriated some twenty gold double axes, leaving perhaps another ten in the hands of the rustics. Bronze double axes, knives, and swords were found in considerable numbers, all heaped together in a space of two or three square metres. The small double axes of gold (*ib.* fig. 3 shows four) are decorated with a leaf-pattern which points to the beginning of the 'Late Minoan ii' period (1450—1400 B.C.) or else with engraved lines of a more usual type. A few axes are of silver. The whole treasure had been sealed up by a fall of rock, probably occasioned by an earthquake. But votive offerings continued to be made at the mouth of the cave down to the end of the 'Minoan' age and even later (a few proto-geometric finds?). Marinatos concludes: 'Es erhebt sich die Frage nach der Gottheit (dieser an Funden bisher reichsten Kulturen) Kretas. Sollte sie nicht die berühmte Höhle des Zeus und der Rhea sein [*supra* ii. 925 n. 1], die manche in Psychró zu finden glaubten?' Reports in *The Times* of June 29, 1935 p. 13 and in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 354 mention that the recent excavations in the *Arkalochori* district have found hundreds of copper 'Minoan' axes (one with three lines of hieroglyphic inscription (c. 1600 B.C.)), a number of silver axes, and twenty-seven gold double axes with golden shafts. These finds have been taken to the Candia Museum for cleaning. See further Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1. 346 f. fig. 290 (three gold axes, enlarged) and 378 fig. 315 *bis* (four miniature bronze axes). S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 l Arch. Anz. pp. 248—254 figs. 3 (gold model of mountain?), 4 (bronze double axe), 6 (the ten hieroglyphic characters of the inscribed double axe) now concludes: 'Da sich aber nach Abschluss der Grabung ergab, dass die Höhle nichts Jüngerer als SM.I enthielt, gehören m.E. auch die goldenen Beile in diese Zeit,' etc. J. D. S. Pendlebury *The Archaeology of Crete* London 1939 pp. 212, 232, 236 pl. 36, 3 (three gold axes).

ii. 641 n. 2. Recent writers on Charon are B. Schmidt 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 79—82, F. de Ruyt *Charon démon étrusque de la mort* Bruxelles 1934 pp. 1—305 with 58 pls. (reviewed by A. Grenier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 ii. 128—131, by F. Pfister in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 28, 1935 p. 1092 f.), by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1935 xlix. 24 f. and in *Gnomon* 1935 xi. 278 f.). Schmidt holds that the Etruscans, originally dwellers in Asia Minor, owe their conception of Charon to the influence of Assyrian demons. Rose makes the further helpful suggestion that Charon's mallet or hammer on Asiatic soil was the double axe of a thunder-god, which might well be used by an underground power to produce the subterranean thunders that portended death (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138)—a view anticipated by me *supra* ii. 641.

ii. 642 n. 2 fig. 559. With the upper end cp. the votive terra-cotta *kteis* in the Berlin Antiquarium (H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zurich 1926 ii. 76 fig., also the votive marbles in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 164 nos. 1594 ff., 1821, 2730).

ii. 643 n. 7 designs incised on neolithic celts. O. Tafrafi in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 i. 26—28 figures a flat celt of smooth stone bearing an incised quadruped and inscription. This suspicious-looking object is said to have been found at Radaşani, near Folticeni, in Moldavia. Prof. Tafrafi deems it to be of neolithic date and comparable with finds at Glözel!

ii. 643 ff. designs incised on double axes of bronze. In a small collection of 'Minoan' double axes I have two which, on account of their decoration, are deserving of special notice.

One is an almost oblong axe of bronze (fig. 894 a, b, c. Length 7½ inches) with dark green patina. On either side of it is incised a lion recumbent on rough or rocky ground with whisking tail. I obtained this axe from a Cretan vendor with no indication of its *provenance*. But Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me that he had already seen it at Mokhos, 1½ hours south of Mallia. He adds: 'It comes from a place called Μουρί (the "meeting place"), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake ¼ hour east of the village. There is an EM site on a hill 25 minutes to the north-east called 'Εδίχτης or 'Ανεμοσκάκι, and from somewhere not far off come Neolithic sherds. Classical-Roman, near Μουρί.'

The rocky ground is characteristic. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 450—454 dilates on the 'Minoan passion for rock scenery': cp. e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 848 pl. 16, 12 and 840 fig. 424 = Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 3, 2 and 46, ii. 14 and 16 = H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete*³ London 1937 p. 36 pl. 231

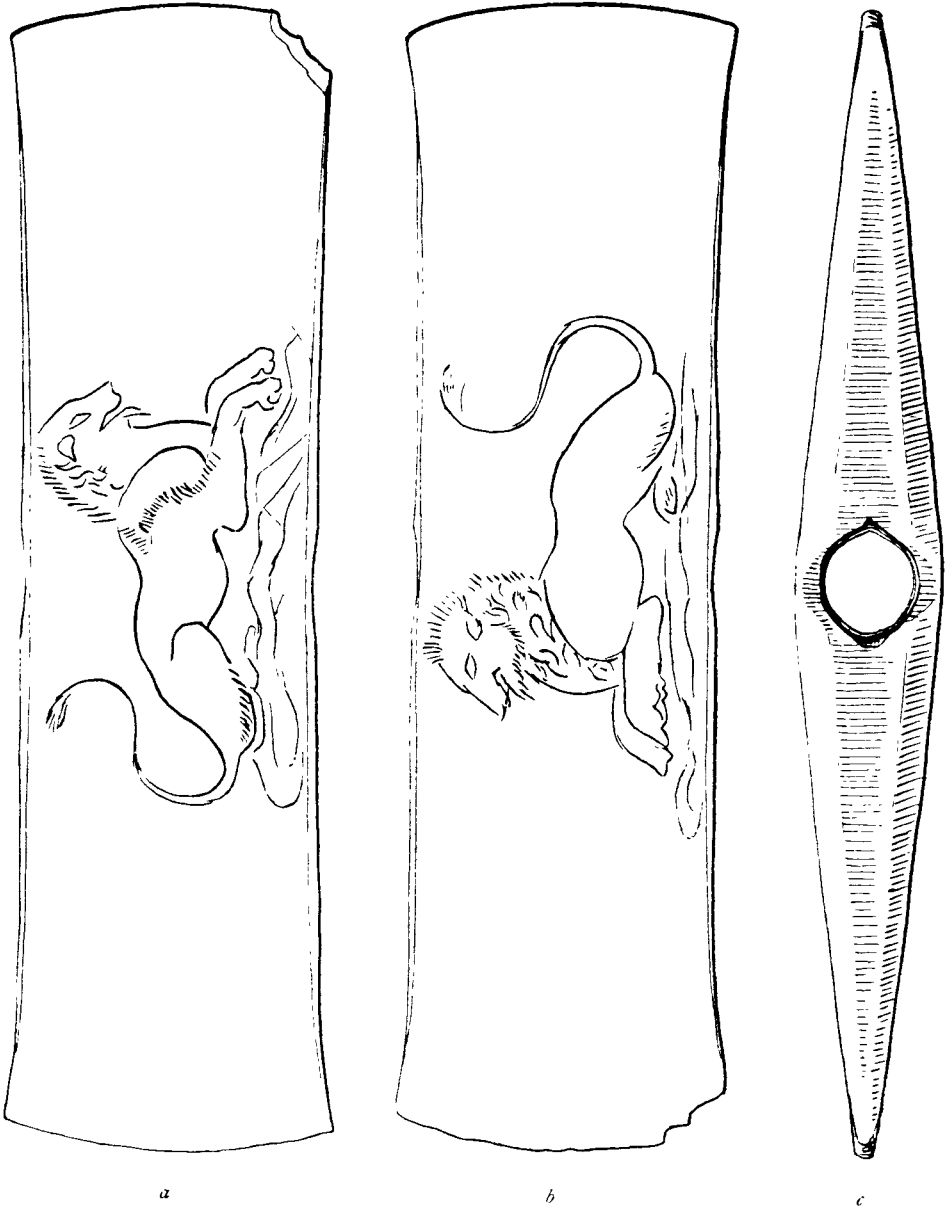


Fig. 894.

fig. 394, *a* and p. 37 pl. 235 fig. 398, *g*. The same feature recurs on occasion in later Cretan art (*supra* i. 528 fig. 394).

The second axe (fig. 895 *a, b*. Length $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches) was found near Athens. It is of yellow bronze with blackish patination, in part scrubbed off by sand-paper. Its outline is of a later type with more pronounced curves, and it is decorated on both sides with *pointillé* patterning. Within a border of chevrons are a man, a waterfowl, a horse, and a wheel. I have suggested (*supra* p. 605 n. 3) that these are the constituents of a solar

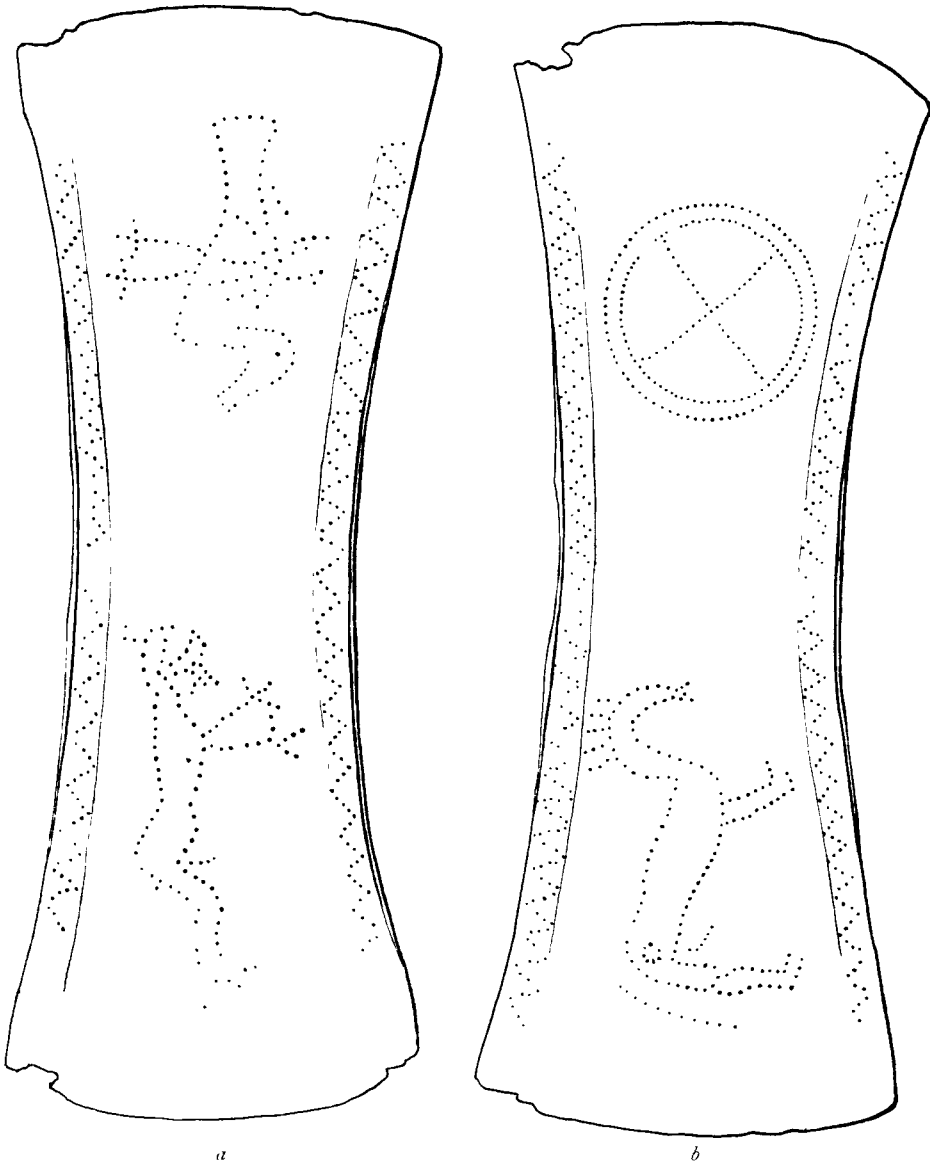


Fig. 895.

equipage as rendered in the Hallstatt period. If so, the axe was presumably in some sense a sacred object.

ii. 645 n. 4 the soul as a butterfly. The Copenhagen gem (fig. 563) is now included in P. Fossing *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the antique engraved gems and cameos* Copenhagen 1929 p. 91 no. 504 pl. 7. The Berlin *amphora* (no. 1684) is figured by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 *Ergänzungsband* p. 73.

ii. 648 n. 1 axe-pendants from Benin. P. Amaury Talbot *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* Oxford 1927 p. 8 'A considerable number of examples of the old Minoan double-headed axe cult were found in other parts of West and Central Africa' (criticised by A. R. Wright in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 215 f.).

ii. 646 n. o ingots. C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 1 ff. figs. 1—4 points out that these ingots were cast in the shape of an ox-hide dried and stretched, one side rough and hairy, the other raw with inward curling edges, just because they were an ox-unit, the price of an ox in base metal. Cp. *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 7 f. with figs. 1 and 2. K. Regling in *Ebert Reallex.* iv. 1. 223 with pl. 100, a—d still (1926) speaks of them as 'die doppelbeilförmigen Kupferbarren des Mittelmeergebietes.' H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete* London 1937 p. 43 pl. 277 fig. 525, a—c is non-committal. But Seltman is clearly right.

ii. 663. W. R. Halliday 'Tenēs' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 36—44 insists on 'the absolute unanimity of tradition which associates Tenēs with Apollo,' not with Zeus or Dionysos. *Id. ib.* p. 39 quotes Aristeides of Miletos *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Muller) *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τένεδος*: ..τόν ἐν Τενέδῳ Ἀπόλλωνα πέλεκυν κρατεῖν, but questions its reliability.

ii. 664 fig. 603. This bronze plaque is now at Berlin (photograph in F. J. Dolger *ΙΧΘΥΣ* Munster in Westf. 1922 iii pl. 33). A marble altar of s. iii (?) A.D. from *Ineunu*, Phrygia (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 52 ff. no. 846 with 4 figs.), has reliefs on its front, back, left, and right sides. (a) On the front, a rider-god on horse-back, brandishing a double axe, gallops uphill: above him is inscribed ἀγαθὴ τύχη· Θεοῖς Ὅσιους καὶ Δ[ε]ῖ καλοῖς Ἡρόφι[ος] | Παπᾶ εὐχήν. (b) On the back, a draped goddess holding grape-bunch and cornu copiae stands on a small plinth beside a fruitful vine-branch and a large kratēr. (c) On the left side, Asklepios with oval object (fruit? egg?) and serpent-staff stands on a small plinth: above him is inscribed Ἀσκληῖος καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶς, οἱ Ἀσκληπᾶ, λαύρτοι | Κουρναίτηνοι. (d) On the right side, Nemesis draped and veiled holding scales(?) and cubit-rule stands on a small plinth between two thick garlands terminated at either end by three ivy-leaves.

ii. 665 n. 1. See further K. Tumpel 'Der Karabos des Perseus' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 544—553.

ii. 666 n. 1 *Cancer*, 'the Crab.' D'Arcy W. Thompson 'The Emblem of the Crab in relation to the sign Cancer' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 1899 xxxix. 603—611 maintains that the crab as divine attribute or emblem regularly presupposes the constellation Cancer, which was *domus Lunae, exaltatio Jovis, sedes Mercurii*, etc.

ii. 667 n. 3 fig. 606. Cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1547 f. no. 2328 pl. 78, 12, *McClellan Cat. Coins* i. 238 no. 2032 pl. 65, 3, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 26, 794 f. Lloyd. Since on a later tetradrachm of Kamarina $\exists + \exists$ is the beginning of an artist's name (*Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 29, 868 Lloyd), presumably that of Exakestidas (*ib.* pl. 29, 871 Lloyd), *Ionice* Exekestides, it is probable that $\mathbf{A} + \exists$ on the Agrigentine coin stands for the name of a magistrate or artist Exakestidas, grandfather of the later engraver. For $\mathbf{A} +$ instead of $\exists +$ see W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i pl. 3 ('Westliche Alphabete').

ii. 673. A bronze coin of Chersonesos Taurike, struck c. 300—200 B.C., copies the Tenedian combination of god and goddess (*Ant. Minz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 3 pl. 1, 7 Artemis and Herakles. *Head Hist. num.*² p. 279 young Dionysos(?) and Zeus(?), E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pl. 4, 7 Artemis and bearded Dionysos(?). I have another specimen of this scarce coin, and I incline to agree with Head that the type represents Dionysos and Zeus).

ii. 675 androgynous deities. See now the important study of J. Halley des Fontaines *La notion d'androgynie dans quelques mythes et quelques rites* Paris 1938 with 16 figs. pp. 1—231 (pp. 216—219 'Résumé et conclusions').

ii. 681 figs. 621—624. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 75

observes that in the tree-cutting scene on the coins of Aphrodisias the second man averts his face owing to a sort of visual taboo, for which parallels are cited.

ii. 687 rock-carvings of the hafted axe. At the base of Ben Voirlich, not far from the shore of Loch Lomond, a great rock called in Gaelic *Clach nan Tairbh*, 'The Rock of the Bulls,' bears the rough outline of a hafted axe (A. D. Lacaille in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 233 ff. pls. 4 and 5).

ii. 688 ff. n. o. M. C. Burkitt 'Rock Carvings in the Italian Alps' in *Antiquity* 1929 iii. 155—164 with map and pls. 1—7 discusses the designs pock-marked on the red rock-surfaces of Monte Bego and attributes them to seasonal pilgrimages of a neighbouring agricultural population made during the Bronze Age at different dates but in all cases prior to c. 300 A.D. (absence of Christian symbols). P. Reinecke in *Germania* 1934 xviii. 46—48 reports on two sandstone blocks in the Val Camonica and would date their drawings to the pre-Roman Iron Age or more probably to the Bronze Age. P. Jacobsthal 'Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 65—69 accepts the contention of F. Althelm and E. Trautmann 'Nordische und italische Felsbildkunst' in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 1937 iii. 83—113 that the largest of all rock-carvings in the Val Camonica (fig. 3 = Jacobsthal pl. 9, 1) represents the Celtic stag-god Cernunnos with a small-scale worshipper. See further *eid.* 'Neue Felsbilder aus der Val Camonica: Die Sonne in Kult und Mythos' in *Wörter und Sachen* N.F. 1938 i. 12—45 pls. 1—32.

ii. 690 Penelope's marriage-test. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*^b London 1921 ii. 490 notes that among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur the bridegroom shoots an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm, and suggests that this was a magical means of securing the bride's safe delivery. I suspect that we have here the ultimate explanation of the marriage-test proposed by Penelope.

ii. 692 ff. Tereus. M. Bieber 'Tereus' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1925 l. 11—18 pl. 2 publishes a sherd from Paestum, now at Dresden, which shows Tereus pursuing Prokne and Philomela with a double axe in his hand (A. D. Trendall *Paestan Pottery* London 1936 p. 127 no. 290 'Tereus(?)'). O. Schroeder 'ΠΡΟΚΝΗ' in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 423—436 discusses the development of the myth.

ii. 699 "wine-skin" and "hatchet." 'Y.' in *The Cambridge Review* 1926 xlvii. 268 draws attention to a better solution of this long-standing problem propounded by S. Koujeas 'ΑΣΚΟΣ-ΠΕΛΕΚΤΣ' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 478—480, who remarks that at Abia in Lakonike words meaning 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet' are used in popular speech to denote the contrast of light and heavy: thus *πλέχει 'σάν άσκι* 'he swims like a wine-skin,' *πλέχει 'σάν τσηκούρι* 'he swims like an axe.' The visitor bouncing the baby says the tactful thing.

ii. 699 small bronze axes. F. Haverfield in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk* London s.a. i. 292 fig. 9 illustrates a tiny bronze axe found at *Causter-by-Norwich* (Venta Icenorum).

ii. 699 n. 7. On Osthanes see now J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanes et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 165—212, ii. 265—356.

ii. 703 n. 2 a hammer thrown to ratify the acquisition of property. K. Künstle *Ikönographie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 597 f. says of St Wolfgang (Oct. 31): 'Auf den Wolfgangsbildern, die vom Kloster Mondsee ausgehen, trägt der Heilige fast regelmässig ein Beil oder eine Axt als Attribut. Dies ist aus dem langen Kampfe herausgewachsen, den das Kloster um den Besitz der Gegend am Abersee, die man das "Wolfgangsländ" nannte, gegen Salzburg und das Hochstift Regensburg führte. Die spätere Legende erzählt nämlich, Wolfgang habe, als er im Aberseeforst ein Einsiedlerleben führte, mittelst des Werfens eines Beiles, das in dem spater nach ihm benannten Orte niederfiel, den Platz gesucht, wo er eine Zelle und eine Kirche mit eigenen Händen erbauen wollte. Durch diese Handlung hat er für sein Eigenkloster Mondsee von dieser Gegend Besitz genommen. Der Beilwurf ist nämlich ein altgermanischer Rechtsbrauch; er diente zur Ermittlung des Verlaufs einer Grenze und bestimmte die jeweilige Erstreckung des Rechtes auf Grund und Boden. Das Beil wurde so Sinnbild der Besitzergreifung.' Etc.

ii. 704 the spear of Zeus. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 cp. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 5 τὸν αἰχματᾶν κεραυνόν.

ii. 707 n. 1. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 69 f. no. 17 gives a facsimile of this inscription, and dates it in 68 A.D.

ii. 722 Zeus *Hörkios* at Olympia. On the exact site of this statue see E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 274.

ii. 723 n. o Zeus *Skýlios*. An inscription of 120 A.D., found at *Rhotàsi* (Rhytion) and now in the Museum at Candia, speaks of a letter restored by a priest of Zeus *Skýlios* and of an imperial rescript, relating to Gortynian trespassers on his sacred domains, which had been engraved on a *stèle* kept in his sanctuary (*Inscr. Crét.* i. 303 ff. Rhytion no. 1, 6 ff. "Αμσπος ὁ [κατασ]ταθεὶς | ἱερεὺς Διὸς [Σκυλίου] τῆς | 'Ρυτιασίων κώμης καὶ Πύργου | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 16 ff. [ἰσχυ]ροποιίαν | προήνευ[καν -----] καθ' ἣν | φαίνεται [-----] Διὸς Σκυλίου κ.τ.λ. with the remarks of M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1931 li. 243 and A. M. Woodward *ib.* 1936 lvi. 97). B. Kock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 647 s.v. 'Skyllos' and 660 s.v. 'Skyllos.' Further literature cited by E. Fehle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 659 f., including the view of W. Aly in *Klio* 1911 xi. 15 and *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 473 that Zeus Σκύλλιος was a sea-god akin to Skylla the sea-monster and Skyllies the diver (*supra* p. 414).

ii. 724 n. o. On oaths that must be taken in the open, not under a roof, see P. Sartori 'Das Dach im Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 234 f., Weiser in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 124.

ii. 725 fig. 660 f. A. Della Seta *Italia Antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 has a photograph of this statue with the arms restored as holding a bow in the right hand, a hawk (?) in the left.

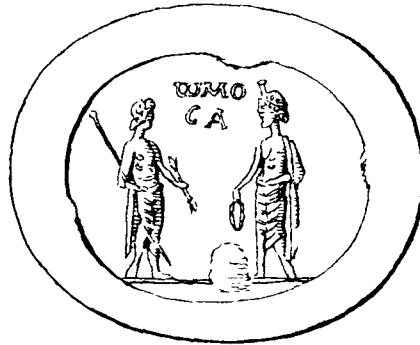


Fig. 896.

ii. 727 Zeus and the boar. The *stèle* of Zeus *Karaiós* at Thespiæ (*infra* on ii. 874 n. 2) has three reliefs—a filleted *bucranium*, a boar's skull, and a boar's jaw (?) (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 262 with fig. 37).

ii. 727 n. 3 Zeus in relation to oaths. An engraved gem of pink jasper (?), found in Macedonia and now in my collection (fig. 896 : scale $\frac{1}{3}$), shows Sarapis (*kálathos*, wreath) standing before Zeus (sceptre, thunderbolt) and between them the word ΩΜΟ|CA. Fairly good Hellenistic work. Possibly the seal of some public functionary.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt. A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 12 f. no. 10 pls. 23—25.

ii. 731 Zeus wielding thunderbolt and sceptre. Among the scenes represented on the great *kályx-kratér* in New York by 'the Nekyia Painter' c. 450—440 B.C. (P. Jacobsthal 'The Nekyia Krater in New York' in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1934—1936 v. 117—145 with 21 figs., P. Friedländer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I Arch. Anz. pp. 20—33 figs. 1—4, G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 168—171 no. 135 pls. 135—137 and 170 (of which pl. 137 = my fig. 897)) is one—lower frieze B—in which Zeus, supported by Hermes, blasts a Giant, presumably Porphyryon (*supra* p. 55 ff. n. 5).

ii. 733 ff. fig. 665 *psychostasia*. The Paris fragment is re-published by J. D. Beazley *Der Kleophrades-Maler* Berlin 1933 p. 26 no. 37 pl. 2 and pl. 30, 6. The subject in general is handled by E. Wüst 'Psychostasie' in the *Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasial-Schulwesen* 1929 lxxv. 201—211. See also W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 478 ff. with figs. 15 and 16, M. P. Perry 'On the psychostasis in Christian art' in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 1912/13 xxii. 94—105 and 208—218 with 4 pls., W. L. Nash 'The origin of the mediaeval representations



Fig. 897.

of the weighing of the soul after death' in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1918 xl. 19—29 pl. 1.

ii. 734 n. 3 the scales of Zeus. Add Kerkidas *melamb.* 4. 24 ff. Powell = 2. 24 ff. Knox = 1. 16 ff. Diehl *καὶ μὲν τὸ τάλαντον ὁ σεμνὸς | ἀστεροπαγερῆτας | μέσσον τὸν Ὀλυμπον . . . | ὄρθον [τριταίνει] | [καὶ] νένευκεν οὐδαμῶ. | καὶ τοῦθ' Ὀμηρος | εἶπεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι: | 'ῥέπει δ', δταν αἰσιμον ἄμαρ, | ἀνδράσι κυδαλίμοις [ἦν]. | πῶς οὖν ἐμὶν οὐποτ' ἔρεψεν | ὄρθος ὦν ζυγοστάτας: | τὰ δ' ἔσχατα Βρύγῃα Μυσῶν, | ἄζομαι δέ θην λέγειν, | ὅσον [πατα]γεὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς | τῷ Διὸς πλα[στ]ῆγγιον* with the notes of the three successive editors (I. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 204 ff., A. D. Knox in the Loeb ed. London 1929 p. 196 ff., E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*² Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 123. Cp. E. A. Barber in *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Oxford 1921 p. 6).

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 267 with fig. 56 claims that a Cypro-Mycenaean vase of c. 1300 B.C., found during the Swedish excavations in the upper burial stratum of chamber tomb no. 17 at Enkomi, represents 'Zeus taking the scales of destiny in order to determine the fate of the combatants, a famous scene of the Iliad,' etc. But Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 659 n. 2 fig. 646 justly demurs. The scene is merely commercial, or at most a matter of ransom.



Fig. 898.

ii. 739 ff. early types of Zeus advancing from left to right. C. D. Bicknell suggests to me (Jan. 3, 1934) that a precursor of Zeus advancing with bolt and bird may be seen on a *pitheos*-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C., published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. p. 311 figs. 20 and 21 (= my fig. 898), cp. T. B. L. Webster in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1939 lix. 103 fig. 1. Pl. lxxxii is from a photograph procured for me from H. G. Payne through the kind offices of my old pupil Mr E. J. P. Raven. The lid shows a nude male figure advancing to the right with a triple lightning-fork in his right hand, a bird on his left. Before him is a tripod, on which is another bird with a third on a stone beside it. Beneath the tripod a human head rises from the ground (? as central support of the tripod: *supra* ii. 193). Marinatos comments: 'Es handelt sich wohl um eine mythologische Szene.' But it is possible that the 'tripod' was meant for an altar, and that the head seen on the face of it marks it as the altar of the advancing god. The interpretation is very uncertain.

A bronze statuette (height 0.165^m: bright green patina), found near Epidaurus (?), later in the Tyskiewicz and Dutuit collections, and now in the Petit Palais at Paris, represents a nude bearded male figure advancing to the right with his right arm raised and his left thrown forward—the whole on a bronze base inscribed HVBR[Ι] [Σ] ΣΤΑΣ [ΕΠΟ] [ΣΣ]. Peloponnesian work of 600—550 B.C. K. Wernicke in the *Rom. Myth.* 1889 iv. 167 f., cp. p. 339 took the subject to be a young warrior with spear and shield. But most critics have assumed Zeus fulminant (W. Frohner *La collection Tyskiewicz* Munich 1892 p. 18 pl. 21 (= my fig. 899) ('Un aigle perchait sur le revers de la main gauche du dieu; cette main est d'ailleurs perforée'), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 2, A. Furtwangler *Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 467 fig. 9, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 33, A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*



Pithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C.:
Zeus advancing with triple lightning-fork and bird.

See page 1148 and page 1150 fig. 898.

Leipzig 1928 xiii./xiv. p. ix fig. 116 ('um 460 v. Chr.'). W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 pp. 95 (c. 550 B.C.), 148 f., 153 pl. 32, a. Frohner's facsimile of the inscription is repeated in *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1476).

Between April 1926 and September 1928 a magnificent bronze god was fished up piecemeal from a depth of more than 25 fathoms in the sea off Artemision. It seems to have formed part of the cargo on board a ship, which was carrying barrels of late



Fig. 899.

Hellenistic style from northern Greece towards Rome, but foundered in a gale off the upper end of Euboeia. If so, the statue had probably been pillaged from some temple in Thessaly or Chaikidike or even Thrace. After careful cleaning from accretions and corrosions, the whole figure (c. 2.10^m high) proved to be a nude bearded god striding forwards with right arm drawn back and left arm out-stretched—one of the most impressive of all Greek statues (Ch. Karouzos 'The Find from the Sea off Artemision' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 141—144 figs. 1 and 2 pls. 7 and 8, *id.* 'Ο Ποσειδών του Ἀρτεμισίου' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1930—31 xiii. 41—104 figs. 1—42 pls. 1 (=my fig. 900)—5, H. G. Beyen *La statue d'Artemision* La Haye 1930 pp. 1—55 pls. 1—13 with further bibliography p. 1 n. 1). Several problems arise: (1) To what period, school, and sculptor

should it be assigned? It belongs clearly to the later part of the transitional period when fighting-man developed into fighting-god (*supra* ii. 739 ff., 1222 f.) and may be dated c. 460 B.C. Beyen attributes it, on rather insufficient grounds, to the Sicyonian school: Karouzos, more explicitly, to the Sicyonian-Boeotian school of Kalamis. (2) Votive figure or cult-image? Hardly the latter. A cult-image should be strictly frontal: the worshipper expects to find a propitious and friendly presence, not to be met by a



Fig. 900.

tremendous antagonist in the act of hurling a missile! (3) Zeus or Poseidon? The attitude would suit either, according as we assume thunderbolt or trident in the right hand. Karouzos and Beyen think that the fingers imply a cylindrical trident loosely held rather than a tightly grasped thunderbolt: yet we must remember that the Greek thunderbolt often had a rounded handle in the middle, to prevent the god burning himself. They note further that there is no trace of an eagle on the extended left hand, and that there is a marked resemblance to the head of Poseidon (certified as such by the trident over his shoulder) in a terra-cotta relief at Munich (*Furtwangler Glyptothek zu München*² R 74 f. no. 62). On the other hand it must be admitted that the striding-warrior type points primarily to Zeus fulminant and only secondarily to Poseidon.

Indeed, Poseidon leaning on a trident, or striking with a trident, may be fairly frequent. But Poseidon hurling a trident is quite exceptional; and where he is so represented, as on the early silver coins of Poseidonia, he regularly wears a *chlamys* over his arms. Also the head, with its neat plait twisted round trim locks, its long silky moustache, and its full beard with undulating strands, seems too refined and dignified for any deity beneath the rank of Zeus. I conclude that the originator of this remarkable type was deliberately portraying Poseidon in the guise of Zeus (cp. *supra* ii. 795 n. 3 figs. 762—764). After all, Poseidon was but a by-form of the greater god (*supra* p. 736). J. Juthner.



Fig. 901.

however, in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1937 lxii. 136—148 decides for an athlete hurling his *akóntion*'

ii. 741 Zeus *Ithomátas*. C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1932 lxii. 799 claims that the Brussels tetradrachm of Zankle-Messana (*supra* ii. 794 f. fig. 757), 'which should be dated *ca.* 461 B.C., the year of liberation from the tyranny, has on the obverse a figure, not of Poseidon, but of Zeus fulminating (*Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 168) which closely resembles the Zeus Ithomatas on coins of Messenia from 369 B.C. onwards (*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxii, 1, 6, 7, 10). Thus the Messanians of Zankle showed their sympathy with the Messenians, who in 461 were being besieged on Ithome. Apparently, therefore, Hagelaidas made the statue before 461, therefore at

Ithome, and not at Naupactus after 455 B.C. This agrees with other dated works by the sculptor and does away with the need either for inventing a younger sculptor of the same name, or for assuming his unnatural longevity.'

ii. 745 n. 4. F. Matz 'Ein Zeuskopf in Villa Borghese' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlv. 1—31 with figs. 1—21 and pls. 1 and 2 reaches the following



Fig. 901.

conclusions (p. 31): 'der Zeuskopf Borghese ist der nächste Verwandte des Kasseler Apoll. Kopiert ist er nach einer Bronzestatue des stehenden Gottes, der mit der Linken das Zepher aufstutze und in der gesenkten Rechten den Blitz hielt. In demselben Verwandtschaftsverhältnis wie zum Kasseler Apoll steht der borghesische Kopf zu dem des olympischen Zeus. Auch der Kasseler Apoll und der Zeus Borghese sind also Schöpfungen des Phidias. Jener ist in den fünfziger Jahren, dieser in dem Jahrzehnt zwischen 455 und 445 entstanden. Die engen Beziehungen, die zwischen dem olympischen Zeus und dem Zeus Borghese bestehen, sind entscheidend für die Fruhdatierung des olympischen Zeus und für seinen Ansatz vor der Parthenon.'

ii. 746 n. 2 pl. XXXII, 1 silver statuette of Zeus. A. W. Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 489 ff. fig. 6 (= my fig. 901) illustrates a silver bust of 'Jupiter,' which was found in 1924, in a crushed state, at a Roman station on the Little St Bernard ('Mons Minoris Jovis') together with a patterned silver ribbon and a figure of Hercules within the front of a small shrine, likewise of silver (P. Barocelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1924 p. 391). The bust has now been restored and installed in the Museum at Aosta. The thunderbolt in relief on the right side of the chest implies that the silversmith was copying some statue of the god with that attribute in his right hand.

ii. 748 f. beardless type of Zeus. T. Birt 'Anxius und Anxur' in *Glotta* 1927 xv. 118 discusses the epithet of the Volscian Jupiter *Anxurus* (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 640 fig., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2653) and supports the derivation from ξῶν, ἄσσοι already given by Serv. in *Verg. Aen.* 7. 799 circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Anxyrus dicebatur, quasi ἄνευ ἔρροδ, id est sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rasisset, et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatur, cp. Akron in *Hor. sat.* i. 5. 26 Anxur [autem] dictum, quod ibi inberbis Iuppiter colitur.

ii. 752 the eagle of Zeus. R. J. H. Jenkins (June 3, 1930) notes: 'With regard to eagles and Zeus, it is interesting to recall that some 3000—4000 B.C. A-anni-padda built a temple to the Earth Mother Nin-khursag at al 'Ubad, and over the door flew the eagle of the sky-god, Im-dugud.' See C. L. Woolley *The Sumerians* Oxford (1929) p. 40 f. fig. 10.

ii. 754 n. 1 Tavium. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 304 derives the name of the town *Tavium* 'von einer vorphrygischen Stammform *Tar-* = Zeus, wie die bithynische Stadt *Tειων* (Strabo [542 f., 565]), kontrahiert *Tium* (Tios Aelian [*de nat. an.* 15. 5], *Tiov* Ptol. [5. 1. 7]) von der phrygischen Namensform *Tiv-*, armen. *tiv* "Tag" = gr. Δῆς.'

ii. 757 n. 8 the chronology of Pheidias' career. Recent discussion by G. Lippold 'Das Ende des Phidias' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 152—155 (Pheidias was already at work on his Zeus c. 448, but may well have been simultaneously engaged upon his Athena), H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 27 (his Zeus must be dated between c. 460 and 448, i.e. before his Athena), W. Judeich 'Zum "Pheidias-Papyrus"' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 50—58 (rejects H. Schrader's view: holds that Pheidias finished his Athena in 438/7, retired to Elis in 433/2, and was at Olympia making his Zeus from 432 onwards), E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History and Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 240 f. (his Zeus should be dated 438—432, i.e. after his Athena), C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 80 n. 3 (accepts the finding of H. Schrader), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 166—170 (the later dating of Zeus 'would seem to be the more likely,' but 'We must leave it an open question whether Pheidias left Athens in 438 or in 432'). The contest continues.

ii. 759 the marble statuette of Zeus at Lyons. Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* iii. 46 f. no. 1810 with three views.

ii. 760 n. 2 throne-legs of white marble. Cp. the statue of Zeus (?) enthroned found in Delos (J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 155 ff. fig. 16) and the statuette of Kybele enthroned from a neighbouring site (*id.* in *Délos* viii. 1. 220 with fig. 97).

ii. 760 f. Alexander's reversion to a pre-Pheidias type of seated Zeus. One of the town-gates of Thasos, which can be dated 412—411 B.C., is adorned with an archaising relief (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 560—569 pls. 14 and 15 wrongly dated c. 470 and interpreted as Demeter with Iris, Nike, or Hebe. J. B. Baker-Penoyre in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 223 says more correctly 'the fine relief of Zeus and Nike.' C. Picard 'La porte de Zeus à Thasos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 43—76, *id.* 'Encore la porte de Zeus à Thasos' *ib.* 1912 ii. 385—398, *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 1 recognises Zeus and Iris). Within a naiskos, the pediment of which is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, sits Zeus on a throne with back, arm-rest, support in form of dancer (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492, 493, p. 700 fig. 517), and footstool. He wears an Ionic *chiton* and *himation* with formal pleats, holds a long sceptre

in his left hand, and fingers a tress of hair with his right. Before him stands Nike, winged and wearing *chiton* and *himation*.

ii. 764 ff. Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt. E. Unger 'Dreizack' in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 462 deals with the near East (Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Asia Minor). G. Furlani 'Fulmini mesopotamici, hittiti, greci ed etruschi' in *Studi Etruschi* 1931 v. 203—231 is a careful and well-documented survey, but without illustrations.

At *Rūs es-Shamrā*, 'Fennel Head,' the capital of ancient Ugarit, some ten miles north of Laodikeia on the Syrian coast, Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, in 1932 recovered from a small sanctuary 'in the western periphery of the great temple' a splendidly preserved *stèle* (1.45^m high), which shows in *champlevé* relief Ba'al and, under his protection, a small man—probably a local king. Ba'al brandishes a club in his right hand and holds in his left a styli-ed thunderbolt of unique design. Above, it seems to be an elaboration of the bipartite fork with zig-zags. Below, it ends in a straight shaft and fine spear-head. The date appears to be s. XIV B.C. (C. F. A. Schaeffer in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 11, 1933 p. 212 with figs. 5 and 15 on pp. 178 and 181. Mlle M. Rutten in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art Le Musée du Louvre*: Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 102 with fig. (= my fig. 902)).

As to the thunderbolt on coins of Olympia, another specimen of the very rare 'fly'-type (*supra* ii. 781 pl. xxxvi, 5) is now in my collection. Mr C. T. Seltman informed me (April 26, 1934) that one or two examples of a late *drachmé* had come to light, on which the handle of the bolt took the shape of a small human head, perhaps Keraunos. I am indebted to Mr E. S. G. Robinson for the casts from which my fig. 903 was made. But I should prefer to describe the little facing head as a *Gorgoneion*, with obvious allusion to the *aigis* of Zeus *aiglechos*, and Mr Robinson (Sept. 7, 1938) agrees 'that the head is probably that of a gorgon.'

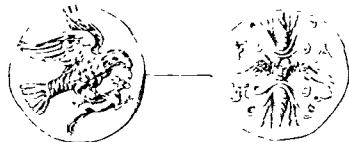


Fig. 903.

ii. 782 sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil. The goddess Boubrostis, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at Smyrna (Metrodorus of Chios (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 205 Muller) = *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 266 Jacoby) *ap. Plout. symp.* 6. 8. 1 εδοκει δ' ἡ βοῦβρωστις ἕτερον εἶναι (sc. τοῦ βουλίμου): τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ἐκκαίνομεν ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρον Ἰωνικῶν. ἰστορεῖ γὰρ ὅτι Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Λιόλεις ὄντες θύονσι Βουβρώστει ταύρον μέλανα καὶ κατακόφαντες αὐτόθρον ὀλοκαυτοῦσιν) may well have been a personified Gadfly (see W. Leaf on *Il.* 24. 532, but also O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enz.* iii. 933). An Athenian inscription of the early fourth century B.C. prescribes Κνέειν πόπανα τρία (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 672, 9), on which see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Ityllos von Epidauros* Berlin 1886 and *supra* p. 1083.

ii. 784 Keraunos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 3 suggests that the small figure beneath the throne of Zeus on the gateway at Thasos (*supra* on ii. 760 f.) may be 'une personification de la foudre.' Improbable.

ii. 788 n. o. Two five-pronged forks, aptly illustrating the πεμπύβολα of *Il.* 1. 463 = *Od.* 3. 460, were found in a 'Depotfund' of c. 1000 B.C. at Tecchiarello di Pariana in the province of Massa-Carrara and are now at Florence (F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 378 no. 118, *id.* 'Pempobolon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. pp. 331—334 fig. 1).

ii. 789 ff. the trident as a lightning-fork. See now G. Furlani 'Sulla preistoria del tridente di Posidone' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 42—47 with figs.

E. F. Coote Lake 'Shrove Tuesday in South Dalmatia' in *Folk-Lore* 1927 xxxviii. 371—375 describes the Carnival at Cattaro in 1922, when a young man wearing a black mask with sheep's horns and carrying a small black trident, about two feet long, leapt high in the air throughout the procession. Lake suggests (p. 374) that this was magic to make the crops grow high, and that the magician bore 'his old trident-thunderbolt as part of the fertility rites.' Possible, but precarious.

Sir John Marshall's discovery of a chalko-lithic civilisation on the Indus has enabled us now to trace the figure of Çiva back to a period c. 3000 B.C., when he appears as an ithyphallic god with bull's horns and a raised point between them. Sir John suggested to me in conversation that this arrangement of two curved horns and a central spike may have developed at a later date into Çiva's attribute the trident.

ii. 802. On Jan. 10, 1927 I saw two other specimens of the M. Herennius terra cotta belonging to Messrs W. S. Lincoln & Son. One of these corresponded closely with that

described by Mr E. J. Seltman (*supra* ii. 1225) and was obviously modern. The other, of heavier make and devoid of the signature T. AV, represented three herms in juxtaposition—Poseidon, Zeus, Hades—all wearing *kálathoi* and each marked in front by his attribute. Was this M. Herennius the *decurio* of Pompeii who was struck by lightning on a cloudless day (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 137; F. Munzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 664)?

ii. 805 the Etruscan *bidental*. See further G. Furlani 'Il *bidental* etrusco e un' iscrizione di Tiglatpileser I d' Assiria' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1930 vi. 9—49 (reviewed by G. B. Pighi in *Aevum* 1930 iv. 415—417 and by L. Banti in *Studi etruschi* 1931 v. 624).

ii. 807 n. 5 (5) *astragalomanteia*. E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1793 and T. Hopfner *ib.* Suppl. iv. 51—56. An article on 'Wurforakel' is promised for the 'Nachtrag' of vol. ix of the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin 1938—.

ii. 808 n. 0 (9) Zeus *Keraúnios* in Moesia Interior. C. M. Danoff 'Eine neue Weihung an Zeus Keraunios aus Niedermoesien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 166—169 with

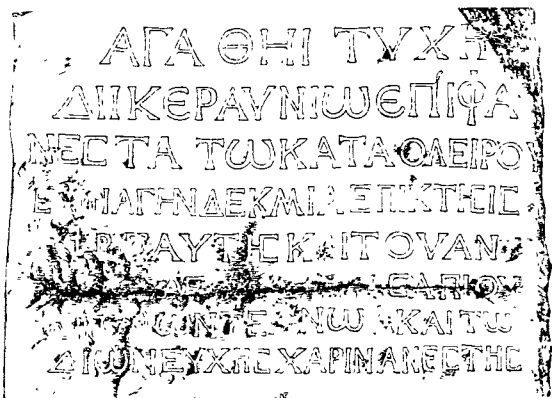


Fig. 904.

fig. (=my fig. 904) publishes a rectangular limestone altar of Roman date found in 1925 at *Υγισσο* near Nikopolis. Its dedication runs 'Αγαθή Τύχη[ι] | Δι Κεραυνίω Ἐπιφα-
νεστάτω κατὰ δνείρου | ἐπιτάγην Δεκμία Ἐπίκτησις | [ὑπ]έρ[ο] ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀν|[δρ]ός] Δε. . . . υ
Σαπίου | κα[ι] τ[ῶ]ν τέκνων καὶ τῶ[ν] | [ι]δίων εὐχῆς χάριν ἀνέστησ[ε]. The husband's name was perhaps Δεκμίος or Δεκομίος.

ii. 808 n. 0 (13) Zeus *Keraúnios* in Thessaly. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1924 pp. 143—146 no. 388 fig. 2 (=my fig. 905) publishes a *stèle* of local grey marble, found in the ruins of a temple of Zeus at Pythion (*Toπῖδιαν*) in Thessaly. This is inscribed in lettering of c. 200 B.C. or a little earlier [Δη or Τε]μοκράτης Ἀν[τι]π[άτ]ρο[υ] | [κα]ὶ [Ἐ]π[ι]φ[ι]κ[η] Πανσαν[ίου] | [Δι] Κεραυνίω and bears a relief representing Zeus as a bearded god, in a *himation*, striding from left to right. His raised right hand brandishes a bolt; his outstretched left has an eagle on the forearm and appears to touch the apex of a tombstone, round which is bound a fillet painted purple. To the right of the tombstone stands Epinike, fully draped and perhaps carrying a *phidde*. Kern thought her a priestess, but Arvanitopoulos with more probability supposes that she was the wife of De(?)mocrates, that her husband had been killed by lightning, and that she put up this votive relief to avoid sharing in his fate.

ii. 808 n. 0 (17) Zeus *Keraúnios* at Rome. This inscription is included in the latest (1933) fascicule of the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36802.

ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777. Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 4 comments: 'früher Sammlung Blacas .wohl Titus oder Domitian.'

ii. 812 fig. 778. C. T. Seltman in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1934 Plates iv. 144 fig. 6 speaks of 'a small Cupid (wing and lower part only preserved) helping to support the huge thunderbolt.' I see rather a Giant with snaky legs and curled wing. The Pergamene frieze had set the fashion.

ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780 the relief from Emesa. Similar reliefs have been found at Palmyra (*Tadmor*). H. A. Seyrig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 715—742 figs. 1—9 presents a preliminary report on the excavations carried out there by the French Department of Antiquities in 1930—1933 and supplements on many points the handsome work of T. Wiegand and his colleagues (*Palmyra* Berlin 1932 1. 1—171 with plan of town, ii pls. 1—100). It appears that the Palmyrene temple was dedicated on April 6, 32 A.D. to the triad Bel, Iaribol, and Aglibol. Somewhat later it



Fig. 905.

was surrounded by four colonnades, on the north, east, and south by a double row of lower columns, on the west, where the main *Propylaeion* lay, by a single row of higher columns, all of the Corinthian order, but unfluted. Work began at the north-west angle in early Flavian times, and continued along the north, east, south, and west sides, reaching completion c. 150 A.D. Within this great quadrangle, some 200^m square, still stands on its broad *podium* a Corinthian pseudodipteral temple (8 × 15 columns, fluted) with the foundations of its altar on the north and its lustral basin on the south. It had originally two pediments and was *quasi*-Greek in plan, a north-to-south oblong with a door at the southern end. The plan, however, underwent sundry modifications. The southern door was built up. A fresh door was opened in the western side, south of its centre. A couple of *adyta* was constructed at either end of the *naos*. The northern *adyton*, with rich mythological decoration, seems to have housed the *paredroi* of Bel—the sun-god Iaribol and the moon-god Aglibol. These names suggest that the principal

Palmyrene god was properly called Bol, not Bel, the latter spelling being due to Babylonian influence. The southern *adyton*, with simple geometric and plant designs, was possibly used for the *lectisternium* of the god. The roof of the northern *adyton* is a square monolith hollowed out to form a dome, which is decorated with hexagonal compartments containing busts of the seven gods of the week—in the middle Jupiter, round him Sol, Mars, Luna, Venus, Saturnus, Mercurius—and ringed by the signs of the zodiac with four eagles in the spandrels. Bel was clearly conceived as a cosmic power. The lintel of the *adyton*-door (cp. *supra* ii. 431) showed a great eagle with spread wings seen against a background of stars and flanked by Iaribol on the right and probably Aglibol on the left. On a level with the eagle's claws is a long snake, symbol of the sun's course, between six balls representing the other planets. Lastly, the space between the column and the *nads*-wall was spanned by a series of vertical slabs supporting the roof of the *ptéron* and carved with reliefs illustrative of the cult. The reliefs have been studied by H. A. Seyrig 'Bas-reliefs de la cella du temple de Bel' in *Syria* 1933 xiv. 253—260 fig. 2 lintel, fig. 5 dome, *id.* 'Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bél à Palmyre'

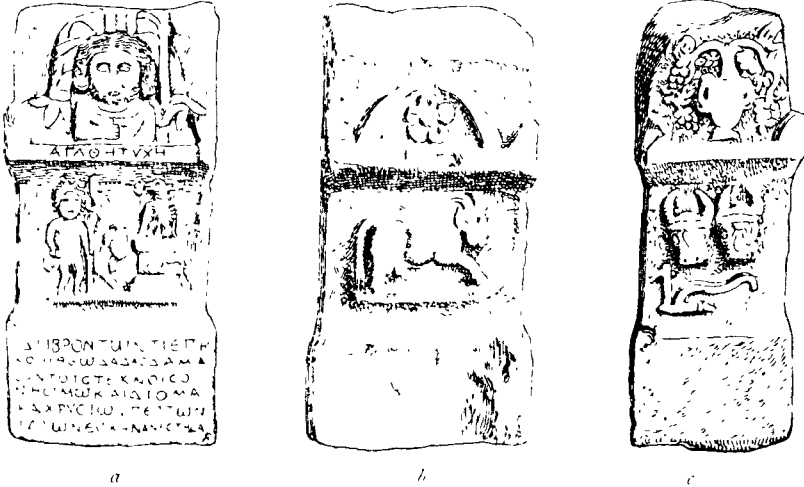


Fig. 906.

ib. 1934 xv. 155—186. One of them (*ib.* 1934 xv. 178—181 fig. 2) renders Iaribol in military dress, with rayed *nimbus* and sceptre, standing between Aglibol, likewise in military dress but with crescent horn and spear, and a fully draped goddess with sceptre (Beltis?)—a fairly close parallel to the relief from Emesa. Another (*ib.* 1934 xv. 173—178 pl. 22) shows Aglibol joining hands with a second and ill-preserved god over an altar set out with pine-cones, a pomegranate, and an apple, above which hovers an eagle bearing a snake (?) in its beak and a palm-branch in its talons. The scene takes place in a sanctuary marked by a cypress-tree etc. Fortunately a Palmyrene relief at Rome with a bilingual inscription enables us to name the second god Malachbelos (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* Leipzig 1912 i. 566 f. no. 988, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 177 no. 5, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 257 f. Scala v no. 3 pl. 100. *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 971 Ἀγλιβώλω καὶ Μαλαχβήλω πατρώους θεοῖς | καὶ τὸ σίγνον ἀργυροῦν σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ ἀνέθηκ(ε) | Τ. Ἀβρ(ήλιος) Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀντιόχου Ἀδριανῶς Παλμυρηνοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς) συμβίου καὶ τ(ῶν) τέκνων, ἔτους ζυμφ (547 Seleucid era = 235 A.D.) μηνὸς Περσιῶν)—another solar power (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2293—2301, K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wisowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 824—828).

ii. 818 f. Zeus *Zbelsoürdos* with snake. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 77 n. 3 cp. a small unpublished bronze in the Musée Saint-Pierre at Lyons, which portrays the god with a snake rolled round the arm that holds the thunderbolt. But does this broken his *agris*?

G. I. Katsarov in the *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 1934 viii. 44—68 lists new dedications to deities, e.g. 'rough statues of...Zeus Zbelthiudos, Kybele, Mithras, Dionysus, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 41. 140).

ii. 823 n. 1 Dionysos as ἦρως? W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 29 prints my emendation εἰθεῖν ἦρ', ὦ Διόνυσσε and p. 157 f. is 'inclined to welcome' it.

G. Seure 'ΝΕΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ, ΚΟΤΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 241—254 discusses two sepulchral *stélai* from Odessos (*Varna*), one inscribed 'Αγαθήνωρ' Απατουρίου νέος ἦρως' (fig. 1), the other 'Αρτεμίδωρος Νουμηρίου, | κούρος ἦρως [ὑμ]νωδός, χαίρει' (fig. 2).

ii. 824 ff. The whip of Zeus. L. Laistner *Nielsensagen* Stuttgart 1879 pp. 45, 160 f. already cites from Geiman folk-lore proof that lightning was regarded as a long whip held by a fiery female form amid thunder-clouds, as a blue whip held by the storm-god, etc. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1400 'Auch als Peitsche, Rute und Kugel in der Hand mythischer Gestalten dient der Bl[itz].'

ii. 833 n. 8 with fig. 793. See now Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 47 f. no. 842 fig. *Id. ib.* p. 48 ff. describes and illustrates a series of small altars dedicated to Zeus *Brontôn*: (1) p. 48 ff. no. 843 with three figs. (=my fig. 906) (*Ineuuni*, early s. iii A.D.) 'Αγαθή Τύχη' | Διὶ Βροντῶντι Ἐπηκόω θεῷ Δαδῶς Δαυῆ | σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις Ὀνησίωμ καὶ Διομῆ | καὶ Χρυσίω ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν. Front: bust of Zeus facing, with large garland round head; below, Hermes with *caduceus*, purse, and ram before a wreathed altar, on which is perched an eagle with a leafy sprig in its beak. Back: rosette between horns; bull running to right uphill. Left side: two-handled vase with grape-bunches; two *bucrania* with frontlets above plough. Right side: traces of bust with radiate nimbus. (2) p. 50 f. no. 844 fig. (*Ineuuni*, early s. iii A.D.). Front: rosette and the inscription 'Αγαθή Τύχη' | Διὶ Βροντῶντι Μέννης Θάλλου σὺν τέκνοις κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν ἀνέστησαν. Back: bust of god, bearded (?); eagle on wreath, below which is inscribed Διὸς Μεγίστου. Sides: rosette above *bucranium*. (3) p. 51 f. no. 845 fig. (*Gumbet*, s. iii A.D.) 'Αγαθῆ Τύχη' | Δ[ι] Βρο[ν]τῶντι Μέν[η]ς | [ἐ]στησεν κατὰ κέλ[ε]ν[σ] | τοῦ θεοῦ. Front: crescent; half-length bust of Zeus with short beard and long hair, eagle on right shoulder. Back: two *bucrania* above plough. Left side: rounded vase above thunderbolt. Right side: rounded vase with two handles, vine-branch. *Supra* ii. 836.

S. Ferri 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia' in *Historia* 1932 vi. 238—273 starts from a bust of coarse-grained Asiatic marble (figs. 1—3) and a similar head (fig. 4) in the Museum at *Brusa* (Prousa). Both are third-century effigies of Zeus, comparable with a head at Berlin (fig. 5) and with the inscribed bust of Zeus *Brontôn* in the British Museum (fig. 6 = *supra* ii. 837 fig. 794). Ferri goes on to consider analogous heads in later art, e.g. the silver bust of Zeus from Little St Bernard (fig. 7 unrestored, *supra* p. 1153 fig. 901 restored), which he regards as descended from the original type of the Bithynian Zeus.

But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Zeus *Brontôn* is the painstaking study by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1937 v pp. xxiv—xliv. These two scholars in the course of a four-weeks vacation (March 26—April 21, 1931) traversed the districts of Dorylaeion and Nakoleia, and catalogued there no fewer than 323 monuments, 282 for the first time. Among the new finds are 56 dedications to Zeus *Brontôn*: and a useful conspectus of previously published inscriptions is added by way of appendix (pp. 172—176). *A propos* of 'sepulchral-dedicatory inscriptions' the authors comment (p. xxxvii): 'It is curious that nowhere else in Asia Minor should epitaphs explicitly combined with dedications have been found or epitaphs concealed beneath dedications have been reasonably suspected; that the area should be virtually identical with that of the Zeus Brontôn cult; and that Zeus Brontôn, though by no means monopolising the dedications of the region and very far from dominating the coin-types, should virtually monopolise the dedicatory epitaphs. It may well be that the explicit dedication of the grave to the god was here thought to be the most effective means of rendering it inviolable, and that Zeus Brontôn receives the dedications, not only as the most prominent local deity, but as the god who made his presence felt most potently and whose wrath might most drastically strike down the impious or, by drought or storm, devastate their means of livelihood.' But Cox and Cameron 'regard it as still open to question whether Zeus Brontôn was a chthonic deity' (p. xlii) and urge that inscription no. 225 (*Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia)) Θεοῖς Κα <κα> ταχθολοῖσις καὶ | Διὶ Βρον Ὁ | τῶντι Ὁ 'need not imply any intimate connection' between him and the Θεοὶ Καταχθόνοιοι, though they hasten to add: 'None the less, if only from his constant association with the tomb, Zeus Brontôn no doubt came to be conceived as having a chthonic aspect' (p. xliii). They demur (*ib.*), perhaps rightly, to my contention that he was served with mystic rites in a cave (*supra* ii. 836 ff. ἐξ ἀλῆς, *spelcum*), and note (p. xli) that he and Apollon 'may

have been *σύννοιοι θεοί* (nos. 173 *Αγναϊκ*, 181 *Κιτυακ*). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that Zeus *Brontôn* was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' (*supra* ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from *Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia) . . . | Δι̅ Βροντῶν̅ τι̅ εὐχῆν̅ | καὶ πατρί̅ θεῶ̅ 'it seems probable that, as Korte thought (*J. M.* xxx. 1900, p. 442), ll. 3—4 hnk to the dedication to Bronton an epitaph to the dedicator's father, now dead and deified, and not a further dedication to a deity known to the citizens of Nacolea as Πατήρ Θεός' (p. 111). 'Even in the Nacolean village dedication Νεικάνωρ καὶ Τα[τ]εῖς Δι̅ Βροντῶν̅τι̅ καὶ Νεικῆτορι̅ πατρί̅ (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xxxiii. 1861, p. 188, no. 38, at Ayvali) . . . we incline (partly owing to the resemblance of the names) to see in *Νεικῆτορι πατρί* the deceased father of Neikanor . . . and not a god *Νεικῆτωρ Πατήρ*' (p. 112).

ii. 836. On Zeus as 'Hearer of Prayer' see the valuable article by O. Weinreich 'ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 1—68 (especially pp. 23—25) and an interesting supplement to it by the same author in his *Gebet und Wunder* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 200—204 ('Die *θεοὶ δέες* am Himmel, beim Ort der Gebetsaudienzen. Eine Interpretation von Lukian, Ikaromenippos 23 ff.').

ii. 838 Dionysos *Brónios*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 83 n. 2 would explain the appellative by a reference to R. Pettazzoni *I misteri* Bologna (1925) pp. 1—40 ('Il rombo').

ii. 838 ritual enthronement. See now A. D. Nock in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xvi. 47 f. ('Thronosis').

ii. 854 n. 9. To the bibliography of Kleantes' *Hymn* add E. Neustadt 'Der Zeus-hymnos des Kleantes' in *Hermes* 1931 lvi. 387—401 (in line 4 is content with T. Bergk's cj. *δλου*), A. S. Way *Hymns of Callimachus with the Hymn of Kleantes in English verse* London 1934 p. 35 f., M. Meunier *Hymnes philosophiques d'Aristote, Cléante et Proclus* Paris 1935 pp. 1—116.

ii. 859 ff. Kairos. A. A. Papadopoulos 'Καιρός' in the *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 1927 iv. 251—256 is summarised by G. Sotyr in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 22, 1928 pp. 1168 (Papadopoulos explains *Καιρός* 'als den Boten des Patriarchen, der dem Kaiser meldete, dass es "Zeit" sei, in die Hagia Sophia zu gehen. Später habe *καιρός* in der kirchlichen Sprache die Bedeutung "Erlaubnis (zum Messelesen)" angenommen').

ii. 861 fig. 799. The fragmentary *replica* at Athens is included in O. Walter *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* Wien 1923 p. 74 no. 125 fig. Another, better preserved, was found at Tragurium (*Trogur*) in Dalmatia in 1928 and is published by M. Abramčič 'Ein neues Kairos-Relief' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1930 xxvi. 1—8 pl. 1 with figs. 2 and 4. A relief at Petrograd is similar, but has the bearded type of Kairos (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiii. 8 pl. 2, 1 condemns it as a forgery, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 490 no. 3).

ii. 863 n. 1 fig. 801. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesis-kult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 298 no. 4 with fig. 2.

ii. 869 n. 2 Zeus *Aktaios* on Mt Pelion. The alleged discoveries of A. S. Arvanitopoulos stand in much need of verification. On June 27, 1934 Dr N. Bachtin wrote to me from Athens to say that early in May he had visited *Plussidi* and found the place indicated by Arvanitopoulos 'still covered with deep snow.' Dr Bachtin continues: 'The *peribolos* was nowhere visible (though I cannot absolutely assert that it does not exist, since it might have been under the snow). Moreover, there is not a single sherd anywhere round to suggest the idea of a site that has ever been built on. Three weeks later I returned there with Mr Wade-Gery of Wadham. There was still too much snow to allow a thorough examination, but all that could be seen fully confirmed my suspicions, and Mr Wade-Gery agreed with me entirely. After that, I had the opportunity of meeting in Volo Giannopoulos...and mentioned my fears to him. He too expressed the gravest doubts as to the reliability of the results claimed by Arvanitopoulos.' With praiseworthy persistence Dr Bachtin visited *Plussidi* yet again in the summer, when the snow had melted, and camped there for some time. He reports (Dec. 11, 1938): 'I found that the site I had examined with Wade-Gery in the spring was not the one which Arvanitopoulos meant: the supposed temple site is just above it—on the very summit marked 1548 on the Greek staff map. The shallow cave, or rather hole, is just below the trig. point and there seem to be some traces of a wall running from summit 1548 towards the lower summit marked 1529. There are also bits of tile. . . That is all, so that my conclusion remains substantially the same: Arvanitopoulos' sketch of his "excavation" is pure invention.'

ii. 874 n. 2 Zeus *Karaiōs*. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 399 ff. no. 17 gives the text of the dedication from The-spiai (*supra* on ii. 727) τοῖς ἀσπίταιοις Διὶ Ἐπειῶν Ἐπειῶν ἀνέθεον | Πούθων | Σόλων | Ἡνεσίδαμος | Δαιμοτέλες | Διονύσιος | Μένες Ἀντιφάων | Ἀρίστανδρος. He cp. a *stèle* from Akraiphia, now at Thebes (inv. no. 9577), inscribed ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἐπειῶν and perhaps another from the same town inscribed *Κεραῖω* (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 253 no. 7 had transcribed it as *Κεραῖω*).

ii. 875 n. 1 (1). E. Sittig should have said Erythrai, not Smyrna (L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472 n. 5).

ii. 876 n. 1 Zeus *Hypsistos*. Further evidence includes the following items: (5a) Sparta. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 222—224 publishes three dedications on small marble altars, perhaps used as building material, in the theatre at Sparta: no. 16 Διὶ Ἐπειῶν | Ψίστω | Ξειλέρος | εὐχ[ήν], no. 17 Διοκλή[ς] | Διὶ Ἐπειῶν | εὐχ[ήν], no. 18 Ἀφροδείσιος δοῦλος | Κλαυ. Πρατολάου τοῦ Βραχίδου Διὶ Ἐπειῶν | ἱερὸν εὐχ[ήν] with an epigram restored by A. Wilhelm *θηρησκέλαιον ὑπερμε γάλα[ισον τόνδ' ἀνέθηκα.] ὄφρα τις | εἰς ἐμὸν | ἦθος ἐσαθρήσας | [ἀγορευοῖται] (or ἀγορευοῖται) | τοῖων | γὰρ μερόπων καὶ | [γε]νεῖ [θαλάθει (or θαλερῆ)].*

(9) Makedonia. C. Avezou—C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 100 no. 8 (a broken slab of white marble at Thessalonike) Θεῶν Ἐπιστῶν κατ' ἐπιταγήν ΙΟΥΕΥ (‘L'existence d'une colonie juive à Thessalonique dans l'antiquité [Acts 17. 1] fait supposer que le Θεὸς Ἐπίστος est ici, comme en d'autres cas, le Jahvé des Hébreux’). This grafting of Jewish henotheism on to a Greek stem is comparable with St Paul's treatment of the dedication Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῶ (Acts 17. 23). C. F. Edson in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 62 n. 53 reports that Ch. I. Makatonas has found more Zeus *Hypsistos* inscriptions at *Kozani* in Makedonia.

(10) Thrace. G. Bakalakis in *Θρακικά* 1935 vi. 302 ff. = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 385 no. 168 (Tsari near Cavalla) Διὶ Ἐπιστῶν εὐχαριστή[ριον κ.τ.λ.] on behalf of Rhometalkas iii.

(11a) Dacia. C. Daicovicu ‘Contributions au syncrétisme religieux à Sarmizegetusa’ in the *Anuarul Universitatiei Cluj*, Publ. Institut. Studii clasice 1928—1932 i. 81—88 publishes seven inscriptions on altars found at Sarmizegetusa illustrating syncretism. ‘Thus we have an altar to Invictio Deo Serapidi, another where Sol Invictus (Mithras) is included in a list of Roman deities. Θεῶν Ἐπιστῶν ἐπηκόω [p. 85 no. 3 Θεῶν Ἐπιστῶν Ἐπηκόω εὐχαριστούσα ἀνεθῆκεν] Διὰ Κασσία. Fortunae Daciaeum, etc.’ (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 135).

(17) Karia. Iasos (B. Haussoullier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 456 no. 4 a white marble boundary stone Διὸς Ἐπιστῶν). Mylasa (A. W. Persson *ib.* 1922 xlvi. 414 no. 18 L Δ | Διὶ Ἐπιστῶν[ε]). Stratoukika (A. Laumonier *ib.* 1934 lviii. 337 no. 21 fig. 21 [Δ]εῖ Ἐπιστῶν καὶ Θεῶν Ἀγαθῶν | Σοκράτη[ς])—a striking combination of appellatives).

(19) Delos. For the uplifted hands of my fig. 817 C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. 0 cites F. Cumont in the *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia Serie iii Memorie* 1923 i. 1 ‘Il sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate’ pp. 65—80.

A. Plassart in *Délos* xi. 289—293 (‘Le sanctuaire de Zeus Hypsistos’) includes fig. 234 ground-plan, figs. 235 and 236 views, fig. 237 four leaden ‘figurines d'envoûtement’ found in the precinct, and one inscription on a white marble block Που[τῆς] Ἰουσι[δ]ω[ν] [δὲ ἐποίησεν] τὸν περιβόλον | [καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτῷ χρηστήρια Διὶ Ἐπιστῶν καὶ | θεοῖς οἷς τοὺς βωμοὺς ἰδρύσατο ἀνέθηκεν.

(23) Phrygia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 182—189 devotes a chapter to ‘The Waggon (Benna)’ and again concludes (p. 188): ‘The god on the car, Benneus or Zeus Bennios, was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordius, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordion’ [Swoboda in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1590 f. A. Korte *Gordion* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft* v) Berlin 1904 p. 16 already claims that the famous waggon was first meant for Zeus [cp. *supra* i. 338 n. 2] and later transferred to the ‘Bauernkönig’ Gordios].

(23a) Pisidia. *Suppl. epigr. Gr.* vi no. 550 *Saghîr* ὁ αὐτὸς Σκόμνος καὶ ἔτι | ἐπικαταλείπω τῇ κόμῃ | (δηνάριον) ρ' ἐκ τόκου | γείνεσθαι βέ<ν>|νος Δεῖ Καλὰ καρθίων ὑπὲρ καρθίων. This bequest was first published by Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* London 1906 p. 345 no. 25 (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 162 no. 25), then discussed by J. Zingerle in the *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Phil.-hist. Klasse Anzeiger* 1923 pp. 61—63 no. 2 (proposing βέ[κ]νος for ΒΕ[Ν]ΟC), and lastly defended by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1933 liii. 317 no. 550.

(25) Paphlagonia. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt pp. 64—66 no. 73 with fig. 31 publishes the ‘Vogelfels’ at *Kushkaya* near Amastris. An

artificially smoothed rock-wall is here decorated with ambitious carvings worked in very high relief. From the top of rock-cut steps rise two rock-cut bases side by side. That on the left supports a column *c.* 4^m high, on which an eagle *c.* 2^m high but now headless sits with spread wings. That on the right supports an arched distyle niche, within which stands a male figure clad in a *togā* but *minus* his head. The base below the eagle-column is inscribed Θεῶν Ἱψίστῳ | Ἐπηκόωμῃ ἩΝ[ίω]μῃ | εὐ[ε]ρκῆ? ἔδ[ω]σαν | [κ]αὶ τὸν ἀε[τ]ῆ[ρ]... | τ[α]κό[ν]... | [-...]. Above the arched niche is a *tabula ansata* with a longer inscription beginning ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς] Σεβ[α]στ[ῆ]ς εὐ[ε]ρήνης καὶ | εἰς τὴν τεῖμῆ[ν] X [T]εβ[ε]ρίου Κ[α]λι[δ]ίου Γε[ρ]μα[ν]ικ[οῦ] | Καίσαρος Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ ὁ τοῦ ἐπ[ι]ο[ρ]α[ν]οῦ θε[ο]ῦ | Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ [ἀρ]χιε[ρ]εῖ[ος] κ.τ.λ. A neighbouring inscription in both Latin and Greek (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 6983 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5883) shows that the dedicator was G. Iulius Aquila (*nomen omen*) 'divi Augusti perpetuus sacerdos,' and dates his dedication to the year 45 A.D.

(29) Syria. Doura on the Euphrates. C. Hopkins in P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rosztovtzeff *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Second Season 1928—1929 Yale Univ. Press 1931 pp. 86—90 fig. 2 publishes an inscribed stone slab found within the tower of the temple of the Palmyrene gods on what appears to have been the site of an older sanctuary ἔτους βού' | μηνός Δίου | περὶ δ' ὧραν ἡμερῶν σεισμοῦ | κατὰ τὴν χώραν | γενομένου ἢ | πόλις τὸν βῶ μὸν ἀνήγειρεν | Μεγίστῳ Δί. The exact date of the earthquake would thus be about 10 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 26/7, 160 A.D. Hopkins cp. the votive inscription of Byblos for escape from an earthquake (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 on a stone altar [Δί Σω]τήρι | Ἀπολλόδωρος Νικωνο(ς) | ἀπὸ σεισμοῦ | διασωθεὶς ἀνέ(θ)ηκεν), and adds: 'from the north wall of the pronaos come two graffiti to great Zeus scratched near the person to the right in the scene of the Roman tribune sacrificing' (F. Cumont *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922—1923)* Paris 1926 p. 387 f. no. 25 Διὸς Μεγίστου, | [Ἐ]στία? and below Διὸς Μεγίστου) with col. pl. 501. See further R. Cagnat—M. Besnier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 369 no. 114, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 93. M. Rosztovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 65 (cp. pp. 36 and 44 with pl. 6 plans and restoration by H. Pearson) sums up: 'Zeus Megistos was probably the *interpretatio graeca* of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His *synnaos theos* in this temple and his acolyte were the Arabian light and caravan god Arsu.'

Damaskos. R. Mouterde in *Syria* 1925 vi. 246—252 no. 33 pl. 33, 2^a and 2^b publishes an altar of Zeus *Manaphos* found somewhere in the *Haurān* and now at Damaskos. The basalt block bears in high relief of *c.* 5. iv A.D. a half-length bust of the deity, who is beardless and has curling locks like a sun-god, a Syrian collar, and Greek drapery. Front: Ζεῦ Μάναφε, μ[ί]ζον[α τῆ]ν τύχην. Left side: Ζεῦ Μ[άνα]φ[ε], | μίζονα τὴν | τύχην. | Β[ι]ούμνο[ς] Ἰνάθης | εὐσεβῶς | βιώσας | [ἀ]νέθηκε. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 1 no. 3668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4349 (Aquinum eq. or, more probably, Canahunt) dis patris Manapho et Theandrio pro sal. | dd. nn., | Cl. Victorinus | eq. coh. ð Canprag. | et Cl. Maximus fil., | dom. Can., v. s. l. i., where J. H. Mordtmann in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1875 p. 106 n. 1 rightly cj. *Manapho*. F. Noldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 662^b says: 'The name **Manāf**, "height," "high place," is also a kind of abstract noun. That Manāf was worshipped as a god [among the ancient Arabs] is proved by the testimony of a verse, and is confirmed by the occurrence of the name *'Abd Manāf*, which was especially common at Mecca and among the neighbouring tribe of Hudhail.' See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii 2309 f., K. Preisendanz in Paulty—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 971.

(30) Phoinike. M. Pillet 'Le Temple de Byblos' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 105—112 gives a ground-plan (pl. 28) and views (pls. 29 and 30) of the famous temple, excavated in June 1926. R. Dussaud *ib.* pp. 113—125 discusses its restoration (fig. 2 after a coin of Macrinus).

(33) Aigyptos. C. Roberts—T. C. Skeat—A. D. Nock 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos' in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 39—89 publish with elaborate and valuable commentary a papyrus sheet of the late Ptolemaic period (*c.* 69—58 B.C.) containing regulations for the gild with its election of an annual president, its monthly banquet in the sanctuary of Zeus, its standing orders, etc.: 3 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη. | νόμος δὲ ἔθεντο [κα]τὰ κοινὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς Ἱψίστου συνόδου τούτου εἶναι κύριον, | καὶ ποιῶντες καθὶ διαχορ[ε]ύει πρώτων μὲν προχειρισμένοι ἐπ' ἑαυτῶν | ἡγούμενον Πετεσοῦ[χ]ον Τεεφβέννιος, ἀνδρα λόγιον, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν | ἀξιον, εἰς ἐν[κ]ατὸν [ἀπὸ τοῦ] προ[γ]αμῆνον μηνός καὶ ἡμέρας συνε[φ]έρου[σ]ι δὲ πᾶσι ποιείσθαι κατὰ μῆνα πόσι[ν] μίαν ἃ ἔν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς | ἱερῶι ἐν αἰς ἐν ἀνδ[ρ]ῶν κοινῶι σπένδοντες εὐχέσθωσιαν καὶ τᾶλλα τῶ νομ[ι]ζόμενα ὑπὲρ τε τ[ο]ῦ θεοῦ καὶ κη[ρ]οῦ βασιλέως. ὑπακούσειεν δὲ πάντας τοῦ τε ἡγο[υ]μένου καὶ τ[ο]ῦ

τούτου ὑπέρτερον ἐν τε ταῖς ἀνήκουσι τῶι κοινῶι καὶ παρέπονται ἐπὶ τὰ[ς] | δοθε[σ]μ[ε]νάις αὐτοῖς παραγγελίας καὶ [σ]υνλόγους καὶ συναγωγὰς καὶ ἀποδημί[ας] | καὶ μ[η]τ[ρ]ῶν ἐξέστωι συντεματάρχῆσειν μηδὲ σχήματα συνίστασ[θ]αι | μηδὲ ἀπ[ο]χωρήσειν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἡγ[ο]υμένου φράτρας εἰς ἕτεραν φράτραν | καὶ μὴ γ[ε]ραλογ[ῆ]σειν ἕτερον τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τῶι συμποσίῳ μηδὲ κακολογ[ῆ]σειν ἕτερος [τὸν] ἕτερον ἐν τῶι συμποσίῳ μηδὲ λαλήσειν μηδὲ ἐπ[ι]κα[λ]ῆσειν καὶ μὲ κατηγορή[σ]ειν [[α]] τοῦ ἕτερου μηδὲ ἀπορησιω | διδόναι | ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν[αυ]θὸν καὶ μηδὲ ἀ[φ]α[ρ]εῖν τὰς συμποσίας μηδὲ ἐπέργεσθ[ε] · [·] · γ[ρ] · [·] τρον εκτολ[ε] ([μ]η)τ[ρ]ῶν ἀποκλέψειν τ[ε] ἕτεραν καὶ μὴ κωλύσειν τὸν | κ.τ.λ.

ii. 890 n. 2 Mt Taygeton. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 124—128 describes his ascent of this mountain (7874 ft.): 'The highest top of Taygetus lies some twelve miles south-south-west of Sparta. The peasants who make a pilgrimage annually to the chapel on the summit in the month of August follow a path which climbs to the village of Anavryti, on the middle shelf of the mountain, and then slants upwards to a gap in one of the spurs and across the upper slopes to the saddle north of the culminating crest. The top of Taygetus has been curiously treated. When I reached what had from a distance looked like a dilapidated stone man it proved to be the ridge of the roof of a small chapel. The rest was buried under snow-drifts, which choked up a little stone enclosure and several cells built round it. I enquired the pilgrims who watch sunsets and moonrises here in August. It was just mid-day when I arrived, and local mists were playing round the mountain, which promised, and before long produced, a brief thunder shower. The distant panorama was imperfect; but I saw a great deal under beautiful shifting lights. To the north the eyes overlooked all Peloponnesus to the vapours that rested on its northern heights. To the west the green hills of Messenia glowed in sunshine; its great bay swept round in a wonderful curve, and beyond lay Pylos and the distant islands. At our very feet a little town hung over its haven, a tiny bay of the Gulf of Kalamata. To the south the long promontory of Cape Matapan stretched out, peak beyond peak, all far below me. A transparent opalescent mist hid Crete, but only veiled Cythera.'

ii. 894 n. 3 Zeus *Hellínios*. J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 27—29, 40 f., 53, 55 f., 67, 82 ff. attributes the cult of Zeus *Hellínios* to Achaeans of the period Helladic III (1400—1100 B.C.). Summary by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 252.

J. P. Harland 'An Inscribed Hydria in Aegina' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 76—78 fig. 1 f. publishes a bronze *hydria* found by L. Curtius (1906) in an ancient cistern high up on Mt *Oros*. Round the rim of this beautiful vessel runs a dedication in lettering of c. 470 B.C. ΠΛΑΘΟΝ : ΕΚΕΣΘΕΝΕΣ : ΑΝΕΘΕΝ : ΗΥΙΟΙ : ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ : ΗΕΛΛΑΜΙΟΙ : ΔΙΙ 'Plathon (and) Echesthenes, sons of Prokles, dedicated (this) to *Hellínios* Zeus.' *Id. Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 p. 83 adds: 'Professor Ludwig Curtius wrote me that a roof tile with several letters of the god's name had been found on this site.'

G. Welter 'Der Heilige Berg des Zeus Hellanios' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1938 Ivi Arch. Anz. pp. 8—16 republishes this *hydria* (fig. 3 f.) and goes on to describe his own excavations of August 1933. He laid bare a terrace, approached by steps and partly cut out of the rocks, on the northern slope of the *Oros* (fig. 5 f.). On the terrace are the foundations of a hostel for pilgrims, which could be dated by sherds of 'Megarian' bowls, to the Pergamene period of Aigina (210—133 B.C.). The actual altar of Zeus *Hellínios* occupied the highest point of the *Oros*, where there had been a Late Mycenaean settlement (fig. 7 plan). The summit on its west and south sides was partially encircled by a retaining wall and built up to form a round platform comparable with the γῆς χῶμα (Paus. 8. 38. 7) on the top of Mt Lykaion (*supra* i. 81 ff.). It was further equipped in Hellenistic times with hostels and *stoai*, suggestive of games perhaps held below on the level at the foot of the terrace. Bronze coins of Pergamene date, struck either at Pergamon or more probably in Aigina, have *obv.* the head of Aiakos, *rev.* Α Ι Γ Ι Ν Η nude archaic Apollon advancing to right with filleted bay-branch and strung bow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 145 pl. 26, 4 f., H. Thiersch 'Aginetische Studien' in the *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1928 pp. 141—147 pls. 1—3). Aiakos was appropriate as the forefather both of the Aeginetans and, through Pergamos, of the Pergamenes. G. Welter *Aigina* Berlin 1938 includes p. 91 f. a brief chapter on 'Die Kultstätte des Zeus Hellanios auf dem *Oros*' and p. 122 the 'Fasti' of the site. The Late Mycenaean settlement on the summit was vacated c. 1225 B.C. 'Geometric' sherds found there imply the arrival of the cult, which thenceforward was kept up throughout the whole classical period. The lay-out of the terrace and the building of its hostel may be dated c. 170 B.C. From the ruins of this

building, in Byzantine times, was constructed the monastery of St Nikolaos. That in turn was left derelict in the middle ages, and is now succeeded by the church of the Taxiarchs.

ii. 895 n. 1 Zeus *Aphésios*. On the cults of Zeus at Megara—Zeus *Olympios* (Paus. i. 40. 4), *Aphésios* (i. 44. 9), *Kónios* (i. 40. 6), with the Muses (i. 43. 6)—see now E. L. Highbarger *The History and Civilization of ancient Megara* Pt 1 (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 2) Baltimore 1927 pp. 41—43. K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 pp. 79—82 deals with Zeus *Aphésios* and his relations to Zeus *Apesántios* ('Zeus Aphetios ist der alte Gott des argivischen Apesasberges, dessen Kultus die Argiver nach Megara mitgebracht haben, wo der Kultus, wie die Funde zeigen, in der geometrischen Zeit gegründet wurde.... An den Kultus des Zeus Aphetios knüpft sich wie in Argos die Flutsage. Stifter des Kultes ist ein aus der Flut geretteter Heros [*supra* ii. 897 n. 1], in diesem Falle ein Sohn des Gottes selbst und Eponyme des Landes. Sein Rettung geschieht übrigens in einer sehr eigenartigen Weise, indem er dem Geschrei fliegender Kraniche nachschwimmt. Hierdurch wird noch eine schöne Etymologie gewonnen [Paus.

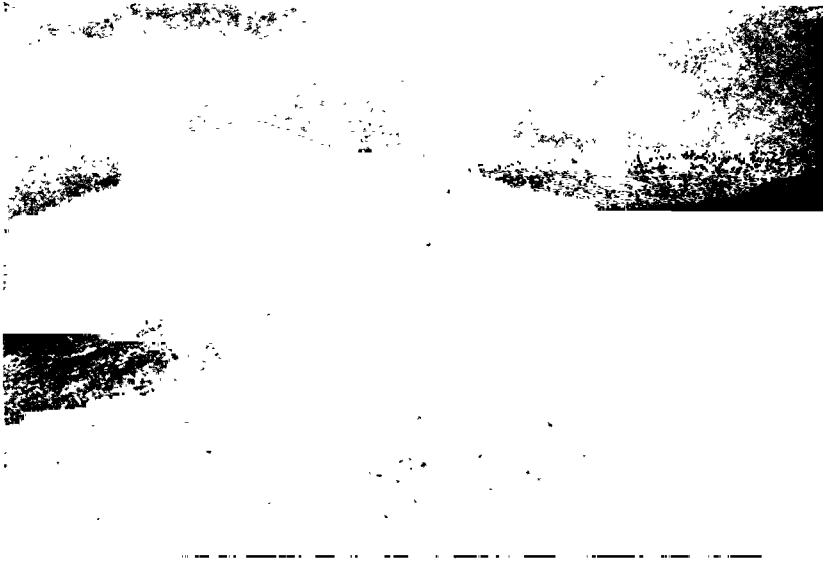


Fig. 907.

i. 40. 1 ἀλλὰ—νήχασθαι γὰρ πετομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βόην τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτῶν—διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθῆναι], und eigentlich ist dieser Zug hinreichend, um die ganze Geschichte als späte dichterische Erfindung zu charakterisieren¹).

ii. 898. To the mountain-cults of Zeus in Boiotia add that of Zeus *Keraios* at Akraiphia and that of Zeus *Keraios* at Thespiai (*supra* on ii. 874 n. 2).

ii. 899 n. 1 Herakles *Chairops*. N. G. Pappadakis 'Περὶ τὸ Χαρόπειον τῆς Κορωνείας' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1916 ii. 217—272.

ii. 901 n. 2 Mt Parnas-os. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 128—130 gives the height of Parnassos as 8064 ft. and says of his ascent: 'When I got to the top a faint gleam was already visible in the eastern sky. It quickly deepened and broadened until, without warning, a spot of light shone on the dark sea horizon, grew to an arch, and in a few moments the sun's orb was floating on the sky. To the sailors on the Aegean it had not yet risen, and it was some minutes before a path of light flashed across the waters to Euboea. Then the long backbone of the great island stood out with all its heights and hollows blue against the golden east, throwing a clear-cut shadow on the strait that divides it from the mainland. The plains of Boeotia next took the day; the mist rose from its lakes, and the rivers flashed out as silver threads across its broad fields. On the northern horizon, beyond the Gulf of Volo, Pelion, Olympus, and

even distant Athos took shape as grey phantoms. Still the shores of the Gulf of Corinth were slow to awaken. Night hung reluctantly over the Adriatic long after Attica was in broad day. But at last the veil of twilight was lifted everywhere; hills and valleys, cities and harbours stood out clear and distinct in local detail and colour. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the famous sights in view. I had had that rare enjoyment, a most successful sunrise, worth a night in the open, and worthy of the Poets' Mountain.' Fig. 907, which shows the summit of Parnassos as seen from the south-west, is from a photograph taken by Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 9, 1926.

ii. 902 n. 2 Mt Kenaion. N. Pappadakis in 1924 attempted to locate the sanctuary of Zeus *Kinaios*. He found a massive precinct-wall, 2.5^m thick, extending for a stretch of c. 50^m. The side towards the sea was missing, but three angle-towers were preserved. Neither temple nor altar came to light (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 480, A. M. Wood-



Fig. 908.



Fig. 909.

ward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224, E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 112). Resuming his search, Pappadakis discovered that the precinct was pentagonal. On the south and south-east the wall had been largely destroyed. The angle-towers also had suffered. They were well built with regular courses of *póios*-blocks. The walls, 3^m thick, had two faces of prosodorous masonry with internal filling, the stones being taken from the Lichades. Minor finds were disappointing—a large marble *phiale* near the north tower, sherds of Graeco-Roman date (none older than c. 300 B.C.), etc. Within the precinct stands the Church of St Constantine (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 554 f.).

ii. 903 Akarnania. At Stratos the temple of Zeus occupied a commanding hill-top. A. K. Orlandos 'Ο ἐν Στρατῶ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1923 viii. 1—51 with 43 figs. and 2 pls. purports to give the first full account of the building. But it is not free from inexactitudes, and the author seems to have poached untily upon the preserves of the French School at Athens, which had been at work on the site intermittently ever since 1892. We must therefore rely on the definitive publication by F. Courby—C. Picard *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie* Paris 1924 pp. 1—124 with 78 figs. and 19 pls. The temple—possibly not the first on the spot—

was built *c.* 330 B.C. It is a Doric peripteral structure of fine grey limestone with 6 × 11 columns as yet unfluted. *Prónaos* and *opisthódomos* had each two columns *in antis*. Within the *naós* were Ionic columns, ranged round three sides of it, and these may have carried a carved (?) frieze and dentils. The roof was perhaps, but not certainly, hypaethral. A. Joubin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii 451 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 447 f. published an inscription which proves that at Stratos in *s.* ii B.C. slaves were manumitted by a deed of sale to Zeus: lines 3—5 read (Courby—Picard p. 13) [ἄ]πέδοτο Διονύσιος [Δ]ορυγγοῦ | Σπράτιος τῶι Διὶ ἐπ' [ἐλευθερία]ι σῶ[α] | [ἀ]φ'δρείον κ.τ.λ.

ii. 904 Mount Ossa. I am indebted to Dr N. Bachtin for photographs of the mountain and of the chapel on its summit taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934. Fig. 908 shows Ossa as seen from *Spelia* on the north-west. Fig. 909 gives the entrance into the little chapel of

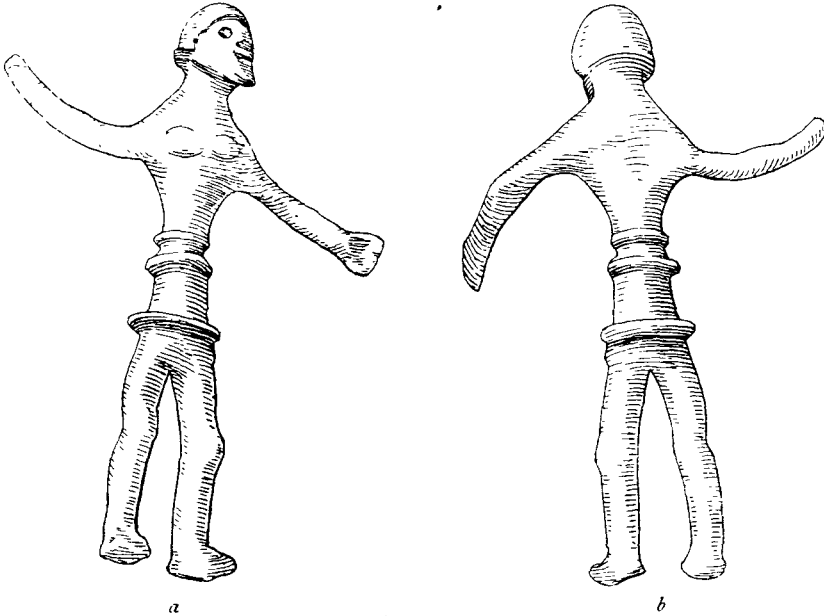


Fig. 910.

Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

ii. 904 n. 1 Zeus *Laphýstios*. N. I. Giannopoulos in the 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1925—1926 pp. 183—185 figs. 1 α, 1 β (=my fig. 910 a, b) publishes a bronze statuette ploughed up in a field among the ruins of Halos, where once stood the sanctuary of Zeus *Laphýstios*. It shows a bearded male figure advancing with right hand raised and left held forward. If, as seems likely, this was meant for Zeus, his right hand must have brandished a thunderbolt, his left may have carried eagle or sceptre (?). Hair projecting like a cap, wedge-shaped beard, mere holes for eyes, incised lines for mouth, triangular chest with two small projections for nipples, double belt above, single belt below—the whole suggesting a date *c.* 700 B.C. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* vi. 164 no. 1.

ii. 905 n. ο. My friend and colleague Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 3, 1926 and again on July 14, 1929 made the ascent of Mt Olympos and secured a series of excellent photographs. These include my pl. lxxvii *Mitka*, the highest peak, as seen from the Ridge, fig 911 the 'Throne of Zeus' from *Mitka* Ridge, fig. 912 *Skolion* from the Brèche, fig. 913 the chapel of St Elias (*supra* i. 103) from the south-west.

ii. 906 Mount Tomaros. E. Polaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1697 f. draws attention to a group of mountain-names found mainly, if not entirely, in the Illyrian area: (1) *Tmor* on the Dalmatian coast, north-west of Ragusa; (2) *Tómori* in northern Epeiros, east of Berat; (3) *Tómaros* or *Tmíros*, the modern Olicka, south-west

of Dodona; (4) *Tmáριον* in Arkadia (Hesych. *Τμάριον· ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας*). Whether these names are of Greek or Illyrian formation is uncertain (H. Krahe *Die alten balkan-illyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 58). N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* vi. 34 decides for the latter. In either case they would be connectible with the root *tem-* of *τένωω*, *τομή*, etc. and so signify 'sheer-cut' or the like (cp. *Τέμπη*, *Τέμπυρα*, *Τοπέυς*, *Τόμυς*). In Greek times such mountains would be the natural habitat of Zeus. That is certain for Mt *Tómaros* or *Tmáros* near Dodona (Claud. *de bello Getico* 16 ff. iactent...Minervam. caeso Tomari Iovis augure luco | arbore praesaga tabulas animasse ouquace., Hesych. *Τμάριος· Ζεὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ*), where the priests of the god were called



Fig 911.

τομοῖοι (Strab. 328 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τομάρου τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένους ὑποφήτας τοῦ Διός, οὗς καὶ ἀνιπτόποδας, χαμαιεύνας καλεῖ, τομούρους φασὶ λεχθῆναι· κ.τ.λ.) or *tómouroi* (*supra* ii. 693 n. 3). It is probable also that Zeus was worshipped on Mt *Tomori* near Berat, to judge from the sacred character of that mountain and from certain cult-usages reported by recent travellers. To attest these curious and little-known facts, I cite three eye-witnesses:

J. Swire *King Zog's Albania* London 1937 p. 250 ff. describes in graphic terms his ascent of 'Tomori's holy summit' and *ib.* p. 253 gives the local legend: 'One August 25 long ago . Alas Ali came from Arabia to Berat; and mounting a great white horse (which has left hoof-marks upon the mountain) he fought the barbarians of the neighbourhood. When he had overcome them he rested for five days on Tomori, then went to dwell on Mount Olympus; but every year he returns on August 25 for five days, when

there come Bektashis—and Christians too—sometimes eight or nine thousand people, to pay him homage. They bring their sheep for food, slaughter them on the summit, then take them down to their bivouacs by the *tekké*. So Tomori is a holy mountain and *per Baba Tomorit* a sacred oath. The shrine was built, so *Baba Tyrabiu* told me, on the site of an antique pagan shrine, so Abas Ali probably inherited his supernatural powers from the pagan god he displaced.' *Id. ib.* p. 280 mentions a sacred cave made by Mahomet with 'passages which may not be defiled by man; and they lead underground...to the top of Tomori and to the *tekké* on the crag above Kruja.'

R. Matthews *Sons of the Eagle* London 1937 p. 273 ff. ('A mountain of Zeus') has



Fig. 912.

much the same tale to tell. He too climbed the mountain under the guidance of a kirijee, who had been up it often before and said: "Last year there had been twelve hundred sheep sacrificed on top, or it might be fifteen hundred. And it didn't do to be disrespectful about these matters either." When asked why the mountain was so holy, he replied: "Many hundreds of years ago...there were two brothers, very holy men, who lived in Arabia. One day they arrived in Albania: no one knows how, some say through the air. The younger of the two set up his house in Berat, where he was highly venerated for his sanctity and became the patron saint of the town. But the elder brother, Ali, was a great warrior. Through all the countryside he rode on his wonderful horse, challenging and conquering the barbarians who lived around. His horse could cover miles at a single bound. You may still see the marks of its hooves on the rocks of Tomori...At last a day came when Ali had overcome all his enemies. So he retired to the summit of Tomori, to

the spot where the shrine stands to-day. For three days he meditated alone there on the fate of his foes and the future of his country, Albania. Then one last time he vaulted into the saddle of his great horse. Through the air it bore him to the top of Mount Olympus, in Greece, and there he lives for ever. But every year, on August 15, the day when he and his brother first arrived in the country, he returns to Tomori's summit. For three days he remains there to receive the homage of his people. And it is because of that and because of his guardianship that Christians and Moslems alike make their pilgrimage every year and for three days offer sacrifices at the shrine." 'Living for ever on Olympus. . . Then it was indeed to Zeus, under this so thin disguise, that the people of southern Albania still paid their homage.' *Id. ib.* p. 283. 'All I could feel as I halted finally beneath the shadow of the shrine was a sentiment of immense pathos. For hundreds of years, thousands probably, pilgrims had been making their way up the great mountain to sacrifice to Something on the spot where we stood now. . . Round these few square

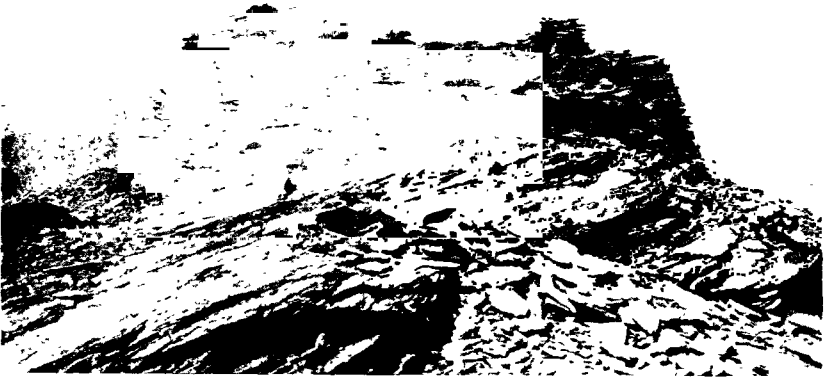


Fig. 913.

yards had centred the reverence of tens of thousands of men peopling a score of centuries. Yet they had left nothing behind to see. Just a sacrificial stone. And four bare walls. Unroofed. Partially breached on one side. The home of Zeus: the Zeus who had never died for the people of this country round. His last home on earth, probably, and he had not wherewith to cover his head. But it was easy to understand, lifting one's face to the strong clean wind that blew out of nowhere, that a god or a saint should have chosen the summit for his residence. Beneath, and to the west, the whole land lay stretched out and visible, to the distant silver of the Adriatic, eight thousand feet below; only in the south did the chain of the Acroceraunian mountains cut off the view. To the east, wave beyond wave of peaks, tumbling black in the sunset, conducted the eye to the imagined Serbian frontier. The evening haze had hidden from sight all trace of human habitation but one: a square white monastery, folded in a lonely pineclad valley at our feet on the further side, whose head was the guardian of the sacrifice. We stumbled down another stony path in the failing light.' At the monastery the *baba*, a young and scholarly man, had mote to tell (*ib.* p. 284 f.): "You must know that the shrine isn't Tomori's only claim to veneration. Somewhere on this northern side, they say, is a crag from whose topmost pinnacle there springs an apple tree. I've never been near there myself, I only speak of what I hear, but every one talks about it. For this apple tree's fruits are of more than natural size. But so steep are the precipices that tumble beneath it that not the hardest climber has yet been able to scale them to pluck one. Now and then, in

the autumn, a windfall will roll down the rocks to the turf below. Peasants who pass at that time of year always look to see if there is one there, for those great apples, they say, have the power of healing all diseases. Even the dying, I have heard men say, can be brought back to life if such a fruit is given them." Mr Matthews ends his narrative by noting the resemblance between Tomori in the north and Tomaros in the south: *ib.* p. 286 'if you go one way up Tomori to-day, you will eventually reach a village, itself called Tomori. Above it is a collection of ruins, so far unexplored, and known locally as Qyteti (the city). And the biggest among them is named by the villagers Dodona.'

Mr Hugh Hunt of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, made the ascent of Tomori in the spring of 1929 and has kindly furnished me with an account of his experiences: 'In a *tekke* (small monastery) at the foot of Mt Tomori I spent the night. I was on my way from Koritza to Berat, accompanied by an English police officer and an interpreter. We were welcomed by the monks, who were of the Bektashite branch of Mohammedans. The monks professed great interest in the Christian religion and asked me many questions about the Anglican church, particularly about Saint George, whom they held in great reverence and whose feast day they celebrated. We learnt that on the following day a pilgrimage was to be made to the summit of Mt Tomori, where a sacrifice of a white bull was to take place, and accepted the invitation to join in this festival. On the following day we rose at daybreak and commenced the climb. The full complement of monks were in attendance—some forty in all—and a few servants. The climb was an arduous one and the day was hot. The summit was veiled in clouds—a good omen, the monks told me, for this indicated the presence of ZEUS, to whom this sacrifice was to be dedicated. I became interested, for although my knowledge of Greek mythology is remarkably small I began to see that there must be some connection between this cloud-loving deity and Zeus. But questions proved of little use: the monks appeared as little informed as myself; the ceremony was an annual rite—or perhaps of more frequent occurrence, for I am of the opinion that they informed me that they celebrated St George's day in like fashion, but I cannot be sure of this. We reached the summit—it was late in the day—and there we found a bull, brought up earlier by the villagers, and a fire was already kindled. The killing of this beast was an unpleasant spectacle, and I did not attend very closely, interesting myself in the glimpses of the valley below, which appeared every now and again like pools of water through the cloud rifts. Prayers were offered by the chief monk; and the bull, now happily released from pain, was hoisted on a stout wooden construction and roasted. So far as I remember, it had a garland of bright flowers round its neck; but these were, I believe, put on after its decease. I left earlier than the rest, accompanied by the interpreter and my companion, and regained the village after nightfall. What was the ultimate fate of the bull, I never discovered.'

The foregoing statements appear to involve a threefold blend of Bektashite usage, common folk-belief, and classical reminiscence. On the Bektashi order and its syncretism of Islam with Christianity see G. Jacob *Die Bektaschijje (Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. Phil.-philol. Klasse xxiv. 3. 2)* Munich 1909 pp. 1—53 figs. 1—3, also F. W. Hasluck *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* Oxford 1929 II. 869 Index *s.v.* Tomor, Mount (Bektashi *tekke* on, 163³, 548: Abbas Ali haunts, 93², 548, 548²: gold plant on, 645²: oath by, 548²). Folk-belief has provided the magic horse, the underground passages, the apples of immortality, the gold plant. Classical reminiscence will explain the hoof-marks on the mountain, the departure to Olympos, above all the survival of the name *Zeús*. Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for all these factors, the abiding sanctity of the mountain, the annual pilgrimage to its summit, and the solemn sacrifice of a white bull by the assembled villagers are ample proof that the ancient cult of the sky-god on his holy hill goes on from generation to generation almost untouched by the passing changes of politics and religion.

ii. 906 n. 3 the stone ship of Agamemnon. W. Dorpfeld *Alt-Olympia* Berlin 1935 I. 265 cites as a possible parallel a ship-like foundation of river-worn stones in the *Altis* at Olympia.

ii. 907 n. 2 Zeus *Ainésios*. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix. 163 would see Zeus *Ainésios* on a bronze coin of Kramoi in Kephallenia (*ib.* p. 162 fig. 1, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 80 pl. 17. 1 (Poseidon?), *McClellan Cat. Coins* II. 439 no. 6683 pl. 228. 12 (Kephalos)).

ii. 910 n. 1. The great temple of Zeus at Akragas is still a battle-ground for the architects. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 198 criticises the results reached by B. Pace (*supra* II. 1227). S. R. Pierce 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico a Girgenti Sicilia' in *Architettura e arti decorative* 1923, 1924 III. 385—391 returns to the charge. P. Maconi

Agrigento. Topografia ed arte Firenze 1929 pp. 1—238 with 162 figs. (especially pp. 57—66 figs. 29—36)—an important work, of which T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for May 15, 1930 p. 413 says: 'the excavations conducted some years ago in the vast temple of the Olympian Zeus, which proved that the *telamones* faced outwards (and not inwards, as Pace and Pierce had believed), are for the first time adequately described.' P. Marconi 'Novità nell' Olimpieion di Agrigento' in *Delos* 1932 p. 165—173 gives 5 figs. of these *telamones* and a reconstruction. Lastly, W. B. Dinsmoor read a paper, as yet unpublished, on 'The Giants of Agrigento' at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1935 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 126).

ii. 918 n. 1 Zeus *Melios*. See the succinct article by G. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 524. C. Bosch of Halle a. S. in the *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt* 1932 xlix. 257; f. reviews Kruse's article and tries to discredit this appellation: 'Vaillant und Piovene sind Mionnets Gewährsmänner!... Das Zeugnis aber ist ganz wertlos, denn die Münzen sind bis heute nicht belegt.' Bosch wants to jettison all the early coin-men, Cohen included. That strikes me as hyperseptical.

ii. 918 Mount Kynthos. Three years after the publication of my note the final and authoritative report of A. Plassart *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe* Paris 1928 pp. 1—319 with 260 figs. and 6 pls. was issued in *Delos* xi. The sections that chiefly concern me are pp. 51—69 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le culte de Zeus et d'Athèna aux temps archaïques'), 71—92 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna au temps de l'indépendance Délienne (314—166)') 93—144 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna sous la seconde domination Athénienne'), 228—255 ('Sanctuaire de l'autre'). Plassart has here and there corrected my statements: e.g. on p. 66 n. 2 he regards as arbitrary my assumption that in 'Minoan' times the top of Mt Kynthos was tenanted by the earth-mother (Rhea) as well as by the sky-father (Kronos), and on p. 252 n. 4 he refutes my attempt to find traces in Delos of Rhea's lions. Again, he has succeeded in proving what—in spite of having visited the spot—I had never suspected, *viz.* that the supposed prehistoric cave-temple was in reality only a pseudo-antiquity, an artificial grotto put together in Ptolemaic times for Herakles as ancestor of the Ptolemies!

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 360 ff. adds some points of interest. In pp. 361—367 ('Zur Vorgeschichte des Delischen Kultes') he notes the small prehistoric settlement underneath the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on the mountain-top as being of early Cycladic date and as probably postulating a cult akin to that of the Cretan Zeus; he connects with the same settlement two large Cycladic graves in the *temenos* of Apollon—the *θήκη* of Opis and Arge (*Delos* v. 63—74 ('Le Tombeau mycénien')) and the *σημα* of Hyperoche and Laodike (C. Picard)—J. Replat in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 247 ff.); and he finds a survival of early Hellenic worship in the altar of horns and its archaic ritual (*supra* i. 482 n. 1, iii. 1087). In pp. 367—370 ('Zeus Kynthos und Athena Kynthia') he distinguishes an archaic period when the square precinct had only a rock-cut altar in the midst; a third-century reconstruction with stairways, *prôphylon*, *peribolos*, and two Ionic *oikoi*; and a later lay-out of three small terraces on the east side, of which the most southerly had an oblong building and a mosaic inscription (*supra* ii. 919 with fig. 829) of doubtful significance, possibly the banquet-hall and lustral centre of some mystic society. In pp. 375—379 ('Das Höhlenheiligtum am Kynthos') he accepts Plassart's dating of the bogus cave, but questions his interpretation of it as a Herakleion. Herakles in Delos was associated with the Kabeiroi (P. Roussel *Delos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 232 f.), who had there two distinct sanctuaries, one on the left bank of the Inopos, the other described as τὸ Καβείρ[ε]ϊον τὸ ἐ[ν] τῷ Κύνθῳ (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 144, A 90) and probably to be identified with the famous cave-temple.

Plassart in *Delos* xi. 265 records two inscriptions to Zeus *Mégistos* (e.g. 'Ἡλιόδωρος Διὶ Μεγίστῳ | κατὰ πρόσταγμα on a block of white marble found with some Roman lamps in the south-west portion of sanctuary C on the northern slope of Mt Kynthos) and justly treats him as a Semitic god.

ii. 922 Mount Atabyrion. R. Heibig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 633 f. mentions as a new undertaking the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus *Atabyrios*. No remains of a temple were found, but a massive *peribolos*-wall (fig. 26) and a building of uncertain use ('Halle für Votive? Monumentaleingang?'). Many dedications of Græco-Roman date, all to Zeus *Atabyrios*, made monotonous reading. Votive objects included numerous small bulls and zebras in bronze and two fine fragments of bronze statuettes representing the god (fig. 27).

O. Eißfeldt 'Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 14—41 claims that the name and cult of the Palestinian Tabor spread *via* Crete to

Rhodes in the second millennium B.C., and thence in 580 B.C. to Agrigentum and later to the Crimea (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103 b ('Prope Sympheropolin (Akmedschet), haud procul a montibus *Taurorum*') a base inscribed Δι' Ἀταβυρίω Ηοσιίδεος Ηοσιίδεου χαριστήριον. E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476). Eissfeldt further discusses the character of the god, who dwelt on a mountain and had the bull for his symbol, concluding that he was a mountain- and storm-god comparable with Hadad, Rimmon-Ramman, and Tešub, but also capable of taking an interest in human affairs.

ii. 939 n. 1 Mt Juktas as a recumbent face. My friend Mr N. G. L. Hammond supplies me with a good Greek parallel. He writes (Feb. 25, 1931): 'The mountain identified locally with Dione in repose is called Emért-a (Gk. Ἐμέρτσα). The Austrian Staff map 1:200,000 (Korfu sheet 38° 40') wrongly calls it Nemerčika. The mountain lies on the Albanian frontier north of the headwaters of the Kalamas (in antiquity Thyamis).'

ii. 941 f. n. o. To the references for the tomb of Zeus add Ptol. *Hephaist. ar. Phot. bibl.* p. 147 b 37 ff. Bekker *ὡς ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφος λεγόμενος τοῦ Διὸς Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Κρητὸς ἔστιν, ὃς παρὰ τοῦ Κρόνου λαβὼν τὸν Δία ἔτρεφέ τε καὶ ἐπαίδευε τὰ θεῖα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ βάλλει (φήσιν) ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν τροφέα καὶ διδάσκαλον κεραυνῶ, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς Γίγαντας αὐτοῦ τῆ βασιλείᾳ*

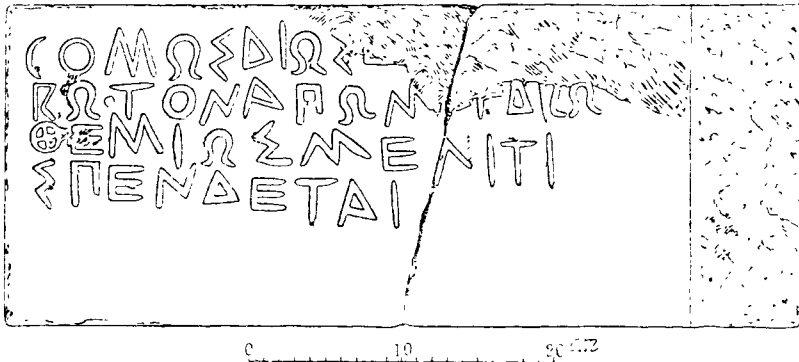


Fig. 914.

ἐπιθέσθαι ὑπετίθετο. ἀλλὰ βαλὼν καὶ νεκρὸν ἔχων μετεμελείτο: μὴ ἔχων δ' ἄλλως τὸ πάθος ἐκκλίνει, δίδωσι τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἀνηρημένου. Eriphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) καὶ τί μοι τα πλῆθῃ λέγειν τοῦ γενναίου τοῦτου φθορέως καὶ φθορῶν διδασκάλου: οὐ τὸ μῆμα οὐκ ὀλίγους ἔστι δῆλον. ἐν Κρήτῃ γὰρ τῆ νήσῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ λεγομένῳ Λασιῷ (? cp. *Lasithi*) ἕως δεῦρο δακτυλοδεικτεῖται.

ii. 946 n. o Zeus *Endendros*. F. Müller von Gaertringen in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 428 cites *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 2 no. 1027 fig. (= my fig. 914) a white marble slab inscribed βωμὸς Διὸς Ἐ[νδένδ]ρο, τῶν ἀπὸ Μ[αν]δρ[ο]θέμιος μέλιτι σπένδεται. See further *id.* 'Zeusaltar aus Paros' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1906 pp. 786—788.

ii. 946 ff. n. o Zeus *Velchinos*. Attempts to connect *Felxanos* with *Volcanus* are still rife: see e.g. A. Nehring in Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 239 n. 1, F. Müller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 560, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 321, Margherita Guarducci 'Velchanos—Volcanus' in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara* Città del Vaticano 1937 pp. 184—203 pl. 20, 1—4. But such proposals, however specious, are of very doubtful value.

Prof. J. Vurtheim of Leiden informed me (Feb. 13, 1926) that in a paper communicated to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and published in December 1924 he had independently reached the same conclusion as Dr Atkinson and myself, viz. that *Felxanos* means 'god of the Willow-tree.' See J. Vurtheim *Europa (Med. deelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie 3, N° 6)* Amsterdam 1924 p. 6 ff.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o suggests that a large vase (?) or *rhyton* (?) of enamelled gold, shaped like a cock's head, which is figured among the presents of the Kefnu (Cietans?) in the second register of the tomb-paintings of Rekhmaré (G. A. Hoskins *Travels in Ethiopia* 1835 col. pl. between pp. 330 and 331),

bore to the cult of Zeus *Velchinos* the same relation as the lioness-heads of Knossos, Delphoi, and Mykenai (in gold) to that of Rhea. He also cp. a sherd of 1425—1123 B.C. found in the Valley of the Kings by Lord Carnarvon in 1920—21 (*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1923 iv. 1 ff. pl. 20, 1 wrongly described as the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock in Egypt) and a *genus* (?) with a cock's head on a Cretan intaglio from Mt Ide now in the Museum at Candia.

More about cocks in magic and religion *supra* p. 45 n. 2. Add J. Praetorius *Alectryomantia, Seu Divinatio Magica cum Gallis Gallinaceis peracta*. Francofurti & Lipsiae 1680 pp. 1—185, C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 93 ff. ('Eros and Cocks'), Guntert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1325—1346 s.vv. 'Hahn,' 'Hahnenbalken,' 'Hahnenei,' 'Hahnenkampf,' 'Hahnenkrahnen,' 'Hahnen schlagen,' 'Hahnentanz,' D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds*² Oxford 1936 pp. 33—44.

ii. 951 n. o with fig. 844 the Stroganoff bust of Zeus. O. Waldhauer in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 58 f. no. 41 pl. 23 cp. a fine bronze head from the Uvárov collection, now in the Historical Museum at Moscow (*ib.* fig. 14, S. Reinach *Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalisées* Paris 1903 p. 194 pl. 239).

ii. 960 n. o contact with Mother Earth. W. Kroll 'Unum exuta pedem—ein volkskundlicher Seitensprung' in *Glotta* 1926 xxv. 152—158 questions my view of the Dodonaean rule and discusses alternatives. His list of relevant usages is interesting, but—so far as I can judge—what he calls the 'Antaiosmotiv' remains the most probable explanation.

ii. 961 n. o. The cult of Hektor at Thebes in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 18. 5) is handled by Miss G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. But her contentions (*Hektor* a shortened form of *Echélaos* (cp. *Il.* 5. 473) = *Echelos*, a god of death) are *risquées*.

ii. 962 n. 2 Zeus at Ephesos. Excavations carried on from September to November 1926 under the direction of J. Keil, M. Theuer, and A. Deissmann discovered on the northern slopes of the *Panaghir Dagh* (Mt Peion) a number of rock-cut votive niches and near them a *témenos* of Zeus, *Oreia* (Kybele), and other deities. An altar-shaped rock is inscribed in lettering of s. v B.C. *Zavòs | Παρπόιο | ιερών*, and a relief-inscription of c. 300 B.C. reads *Zavòs ιερών Παρπόιο και 'Απόλλωνος 'Αριστόνακτος | τοῦ Κυ ννιδεω*. The site yielded no temple, but many inscriptions together with eight complete and three fragmentary Hellenistic reliefs showing the triad Kybele, Attis, and Zeus, or the pair Kybele and Attis, all bearing the lions symbolic of the goddess (J. Keil in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1926 xxiii. Beiblatt pp. 256—261 with figs. 48 rock-altar, 49—51 reliefs, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 580, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 260). Keil infers from the repeated absence of Zeus on these reliefs 'dass die Kulttrias, Vater, Mutter und Sohn, nicht ursprünglich ist, dass vielmehr die grosse Mutter zunächst nur den jugendlichen Gott zum Begleiter hatte. Wie die griechischen Ephesier diesen jugendlichen Gott benannten bzw. welchem ihrer Götter sie den altanatolischen Paredros der Bergmutter gleichsetzten [Hermes? Apollon?], bleibt noch zu ermitteln.'

ii. 963 n. o *Διοπετής*. The word is used in a secondary sense 'struck by lightning' in Aristophon *larpòs frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 358 Meineke) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 6. 27 (ed. Gaisford i. 162) *αὶ τῶν ἐταίρων γὰρ διοπετεῖς οὐκ αἶ | γεγόνασιν ἄβατοι τοῖς ἐχουσι μὴδὲ ἐν*.

ii. 969 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o doubts the religious intervention of the Eumolpid Timotheos at Alexandria and at Pessinous.

ii. 970 n. o Attis and Gallos. A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xliii. 161 f. quotes *Iskallis* as the Hittite name of Attis, and connects it with the Hittite verb *iskall-*, *iskall-* 'to cut.' Hence *isgallas* and *iskallis* 'eunuch,' which appears in Greek as *γάλλος*.

ii. 970 n. o the finger of Attis. This curious belief may belong to the group of primitive notions studied by R. D. Scott *The Thumb of Knowledge* New York 1930 pp. 1—296 (Finn mac Cumail, Sigurd, Taliesin, etc.). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 203 comments shrewdly: 'Est-ce le caractère sacré attaché, depuis l'époque quaternaire, à la main de l'homme? A-t-on déjà songé aux statuettes alexandrines d'Harpocrate, l'enfant divin qui se met les doigts dans la bouche?'

ii. 970 n. o Agdistis. T. Zielinski *La Sibylle* Paris 1924 pp. 76—81 distinguishes the Phrygian myth of Agdistis, leading up to the rite of 'autocastration' and subsequent recovery, from its doublet the Greek myth of Attis, leading up to the doctrine of death followed by new life.

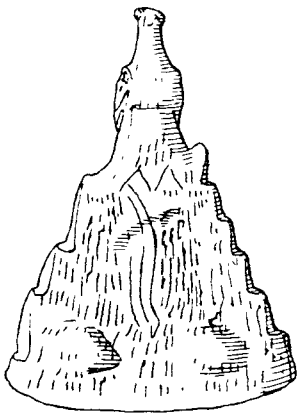
ii. 971 n. 2 *Theoi Ágrioi*. O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abh. v. 15—19 collects all essential references to *Θεοὶ Ἄγριοι*, *Θεοὶ*



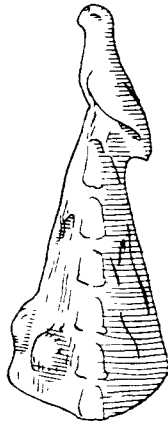
Fig. 915.



Fig. 916.

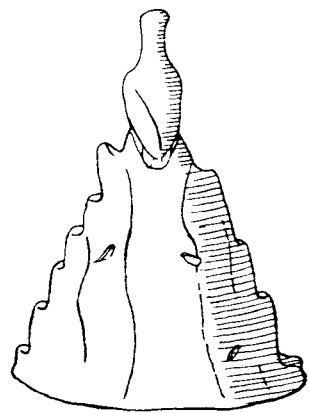


a



b

Fig. 917.



'Αγρότεροι, Θεοὶ Ἀγροῦς and considers their significance. He argues that they were primarily 'Hunters'—*Sondergotter* in Usener's sense (*supra* ii. 13 n. 1)—who were secondarily identified with a variety of greater gods. A similar conclusion, as Weinreich observes, had been reached by L. Malten *Kyrene (Philologische Untersuchungen xx)* Berlin 1911 p. 10.

ii. 973 n. 1 life-priests of Zeus *Solymeús*. F. Schehl in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1929 xxiv Beiblatt pp. 95—106 adds another [τὸν γερόμενον διὰ βίου Διὸς Σολυμέως | [ιερέα] Τιθέριον Κλαύδιον Ἀρίππαν from an inscription of 140—145 A.D. found at Termessos.

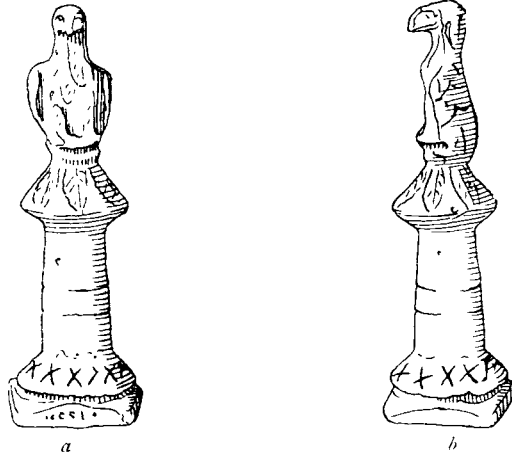


Fig. 918.



Fig. 919.

ii. 974 n. o festival of Zeus *Eleuthérios*. Other views in J. N. Svoronos 'ΤΕΡΜΗΣΣΟΣ Η ΤΟ ΚΑΠΟΤΟ ΕΧΟΤΑ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 181—184.

n. 977 ff. Mount Argaios. The engineer E. J. Ritter 'Erdjias Dag' in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins* Innsbruck 1931 lxi. 124—148 gives a full account of Mt Argaios (pp. 124—127 (i) 'Vorgeschichte,' 127—133 (ii) 'Der Berg (Lage, Aufbau und Gestalt), 133—137 (iii) 'Ersteigungsgeschichte,' 137—148 (iv) 'Erlebnisse') with p. 129 'Karten-kizze vom Erdjias Dag,' opposite p. 134 a fine photographic plate of 'Erdjias Dag gesehen von der Seldschukenburg in Kaiserte,' etc., and p. 146 'Zeichnung des Gipfelturmes.' Mr C. M. Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of this article, himself climbed the mountain on Aug. 30, 1936 and took a series of excellent photographs, of which I reproduce two—fig. 915 the rocky summit with the upper part of a snow slope on the northern side, and fig. 916 a rock-pinnacle a little beneath and south-east of the summit with the plain of Everek in the distance.

I take this opportunity of publishing two small bronzes illustrative of the cult on Mt Argaios. They were obtained from a Greek refugee formerly resident in *Kaiserlich* and are now in my collection. The one is a tiny model of the mountain with a disproportionately large eagle perched on the top of it (fig. 917: height 2 inches). There is some indication of the *aiguilles* near the summit, also of streams descending from the snows, of a cavern high up in front, of two foothills (? breasts of the mountain-mother), etc. In brief, the coin-type shown *supra* ii. 979 fig. 862 is here rendered in the round. The other little bronze (fig. 918: height 2½ inches) represents an eagle on a pillar, the top of which is shaped like a cone and decorated with six leaves. The waist has a band round it. The base is patterned with crisscross lines and rests on a square plinth. Akin to these diminutive *exvotos* is a bronze (height 0.15^m) in the Louvre, assigned to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., which figures an eagle perched proudly on the antlers of a stag (*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* v. 292 fig. c with text by Mlle Rutten).

The coin-type of Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia wearing Mt Argaios as a head-dress (*supra* ii. 979 fig. 877) can be paralleled by an engraved serpentine of Roman work c. 250 A.D., which has on one side a solar charioteer in his *quadriga*, on the other the veiled head of Kaisareia in profile to the right with Mt Argaios as a crown and the inscription **EVTVXI BOKONTI** εὐρύχ(ε)ι Βοκόντι(ε) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 179 no. 1663 pl. 22). Another rare coin-type of Kaisareia shows Zeus standing with a *khlathos* on his head and Mt Argaios in his left hand (F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1996 fig. 5140 after Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 432 no. 178 Alexander Severus ('Sérapis'), *ib.* Suppl. vii. 742 pl. 13. 4 (= my fig. 919)).

ii. 981 n. 1 Mt Kasion in Syria. O. Eissfeldt *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* Halle (Saale) 1932 pp. 1—72 with sketch at beginning and map at end, especially p. 30 ff. ('Zeus Kasios')—reviewed by G. Bertram in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 554 f., by F. Notscher in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1933 xl. 140 f., and by A. Wendel in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1934 xxxvii. 105 f.—holds that the Semitic Baal Zaphon became by *interpretatio Graeca* Zeus Kasios both in Syria and in Egypt, where his rescue of the Israelites was attributed to Jahwe.

ii. 984 n. 4 Mt Kasion in Egypt. A papyrus at Berlin mentions Zeus *Kaisios* in s. ii A.D. (*Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 iii. 142 no. 827, 2 f. (P. 7150) τὸ προσκύνημά σου παρὰ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Κασίῳ, F. Preisigke *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* Berlin 1931 iii. 388).

ii. 987 n. 0 anchor inscribed Ζεὺς Κασί(ο)ς Σώζ[ων]. A 'Campanian' *hydria* from S. Maria di Capua, now at Karlsruhe, represents a scene of departure, in which a young man bids farewell to a woman and is about to step on board his ship. The stern of the vessel has, not only an ἀφλαστον adorned with light and dark filets, but also a στειλίσκος set on the steersman's seat and labelled **Ι[Ε]ΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ** (Winnefeld *Vasensamm. Karlsruhe* p. 83 f. no. 350, dated by F. von Duhn in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 229 ff. c. 300 B.C., H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xlii. 69 fig. 4, L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 180 ff. fig. 12).

ii. 987 n. 1 Zeus *Hynnareüs*. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 127 n. 3: 'Wer Hesiod mit Αἰγείων das kretische Ἰννάριον wiedergeben lässt, traut ihm eine verwunderliche Sprachkenntnis zu.'

ii. 1012 n. 1. Similar tales in C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933 p. 414 ('Three Sisters') and pp. 540—552 ('The Story of a Wise Maiden').

ii. 1015 n. 8. The Molones as figured by a Boeotian *fibula* from the Idaean Cave and by a geometric sherd from the Argive Heraion have one body, but two heads, four arms, and four legs. (C. Blinkenberg *Fibules grecques et orientales* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskaberne Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* xiii. 1) København 1926 p. 163 ff. figs. 197, 198). See also O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xvii. 63 f.

ii. 1017 n. 4 Pegasus as lightning-bearer (?). L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 fig. 63 adduces bronze coins of Termessos with *obv.* head of Zeus, *rev.* forepart of bridled horse galloping with winged thunderbolt behind (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. 269 f. pl. 41. 10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 523 no. 1).

ii. 1021 Nyx in the Orphic theogony. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* Cambridge 1935 p. 103 notes Aristot. *met.* 1071 b 26 f. οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ Νυκτὸς γεννώμενοι and *ib.* 1091 b 4 ff. οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ταύτην ὁμοίως, ἢ βασιλεύειν καὶ ἀρχεῖν φασὶν οὐ τοὺς πρώτοις, οἷον Νύκτα καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἢ Χάος ἢ ᾠκεανόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Δία with Alex. Aphrod. *ad loc.* (p. 821, 10 ff. Hayduck) αἰνιττεται δὲ τὸν Ὀρφέα· καὶ οὗτος γὰρ φησιν ὅτι το

ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον ὑστερόν ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ βασιλεῦον καὶ κρατοῦν τῆς τῶν ἀπάντων φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ, ὁ Ζεὺς ἄρ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατ' Ὀρφέα τὸ Χάος γέγονεν, εἶθ' ὁ Ὠκεανός, τρίτον Νύξ, τέταρτον ὁ Οὐρανός, εἶτ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς θεῶν ὁ Ζεὺς, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οὗτος

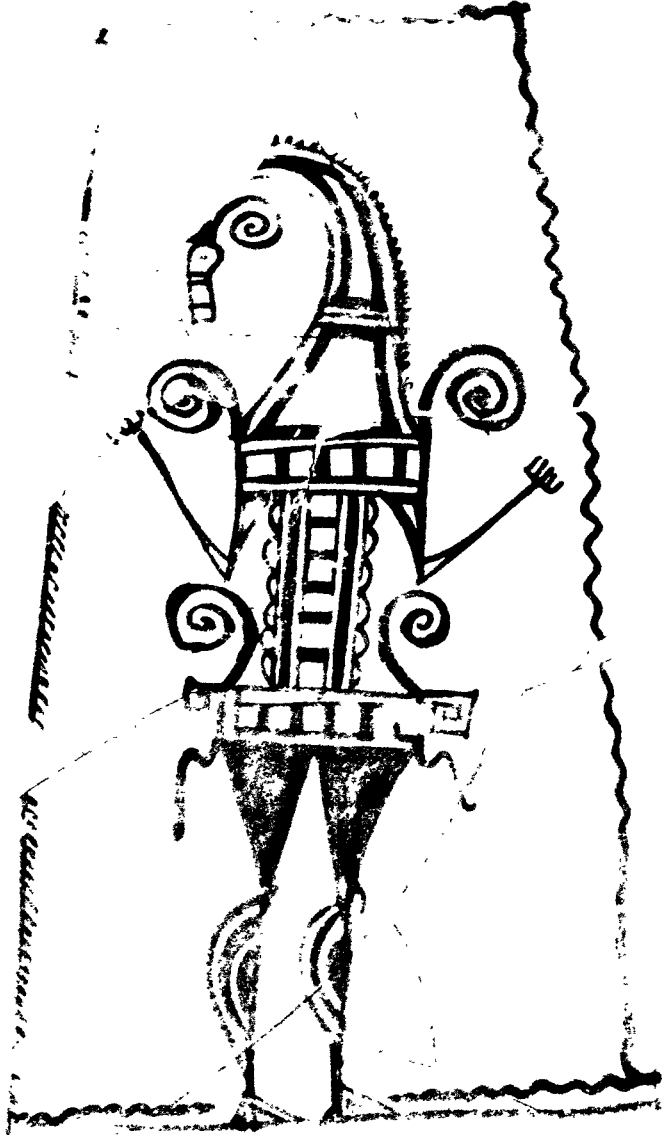


Fig. 920.

τὸν Δία, ταῦτ' ὁ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ἕστερον νομίζει καὶ τοῦ Χάους καὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τῆς Νυκτὸς καὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, ἤτοι τοῦ κόσμου.

ii. 1024. On the Mandaean in general see W. Brandt in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 380^a—393^a. C. H. Kraeling 'The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandaeans' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1929 xlix. 195—218 shows (p. 209) that Mandaean cosmogony 'harks back to the traditions of the Orphic hymns, of Mochos and Sanchuniathon' (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 200).

ii. 1025 *Erikoπαίος*. A papyrus of s. iii B.C. found at Gurob addresses 'Ἰρεκεπαῖγε in an Orphic context (J. G. Smyly *Greek Papyri from Gurob* Dublin 1921 (Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs xii) p. 1 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, Orph. frag. vet. 31 col. i, 22 Kern [—]λεῦ (Smyly cj. βασιλεῦ or Εὐβουλεῦ) 'Ἰρεκεπαῖγε σώσω με | κ.τ.λ., W. K. C. Guthrie *op. cit.* p. 98).

ii. 1027. On 'Zeus Schöpfer' see J. Amann *Die Zeusrede des Atilios Aristeidēs* Stuttgart 1931 p. 47 ff.

ii. 1033 ff. The Cosmic Egg. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 n. 3 (Letts, Finns, Peruvians, etc.), E. Mogk 'Das Ei im Volksbrauch und Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 215—223, A. Olivieri 'L' uovo cosmogonico degli Orfici' in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle arti* Napoli 1920 vii. 295—334 (reviewed by F. Kiewow in the *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 1921 xxvii. 169—173), Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 595—644 ('Ei'), especially p. 596 with nn. 11, 12, 13 ('Welter' etc.), H. C. Baldry 'Embryological Analogies in Pre-Socratic Cosmogony' in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 27 ff.

ii. 1039 χάος connected with χάσκω. F. Bortzler 'Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 253—268 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from χάσις, σύγχυσις, etc.

ii. 1040 the horse-cult in Hispania Tarraconensis. A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 pl. 21 (=my fig. 920) publishes a red Iberian vase (*supra* p. 1090) bearing the black-figured design of a horse-headed god with human hands and feet—possibly the actor in some mumming play—and notes (*op. cit.* i. 248) that the Celtiberians worshipped the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.

Recent studies of the horse-cult include P. Maylam *The Hooden Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom* Canterbury 1909 pp. 1—124 with pls. A—G, G. Ancey 'Le Cheval de Troie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 378—381, L. Malten 'Das Pferd im Totenglauben' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 179—256 with 42 figs., M. Oldfield Howey *The Horse in Magic and Myth* London 1923 pp. 1—238 with 6 pls. and other figs. (popular), Schrader *Reallex.* 2 ii. 172^b—175^a, L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 166—170, 184—186, H. M. Hubbell 'Horse Sacrifice in Antiquity' in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 179—192, Steller in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1935 vi. 1598—1652 ('Pferd'), 1652—1655 ('Pferdefleisch'), 1655 f. ('Pferdefuss'), 1656—1660 ('Pferdeheilige'), 1660 f. ('Pferdehuf'), 1661—1664 ('Pferdejunge'), 1664—1670 ('Pferdekopf'), 1670 f. ('Pferdemahr'), 1671—1675 ('Pferdeopfer'), 1675 f. ('Pferdeschwanz'), 1679 f. ('Pferdestall'), 1680 f. ('Pferdetag'), 1681—1683 ('Pferdeumritte'), 1683 f. ('Pferdewehe'), Ohrt *ib.* 1676—1679 ('Pferdesegen'), W. Koppers 'Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 279—411, R. Bleichsteiner 'Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker' *ib.* 413—495, A. Slawik 'Kultische Geheimbünde der Japaner und Germanen. Pferd' *ib.* 692—699, R. Lantier 'Chevaux-enseignes celtiques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 236—247 figs. 1—3.

ii. 1044 fig. 893 Helene and Menelaos. See now E. Buschor in Furtwangler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 307—311 fig. 147 pl. 170. 1. But E. Lowy 'Archaologisch-Philologisches' in *Wiener Studien* 1929 xlvii. 59 f. still (cp. *id.* 'Entstehung einer Sagenversion' *ib.* 1912 xxxiv. 282—287) argues with much force that Aristoph. *Lys.* 155 f. ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλ' ἀπαγαγυμένας παραιδῶν ἐξέδαλ', οἷώ, τὸ ξέφος must have had in mind some famous painting by a contemporary Attic artist.

ii. 1046 fig. 896 Eros with thunderbolt and sceptre. Another Roman gem has Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left (Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 55, ii. 209, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 28, 6 p. 171).

ii. 1048 fig. 906 Eros whipped. Cp. the genre scenes in Furtwangler *Geschnitt. Steine* Berlin p. 257 no. 6918 pl. 51 = *id.* *Ant. Gemmen* 1 pl. 42, 50, ii. 203 and in the Wilson gems (*supra* p. 39 n. 6) no. 5218, where three schoolboys, not Erotes, form a similar group.

ii. 1050 Eros on early Christian *sarcophagi*. See now G. Rodenwaldt 'Der Klinen-sarkophag von S. Lorenzo' in the *Jahrb. u. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv. 116—189 with 59 figs. and pls. 5—7.

ii. 1053 fig. 910 Aion. Other effigies of Aion are given by H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 4, 8 and 9. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 595—599 fig. 8 adds an interesting statue at Castel-Gandolfo, which shows him as a four-winged and four-armed god with leonine head, an eye on his chest, small lion-heads on his belly and on either knee. He is flanked by two snakes, which are not twined round him. At his right foot is a hydra and a horned lion; at his left foot is Kerberos. Altogether, an aggregate of symbols worthy of this syncretistic deity (*supra* p. 914 n. o).



Fig. 921

ii. 1054 ff. Zeus *Ktesios*. H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 53—74 deals at length with this curious cult. After stating my conclusions (pp. 64—66), he proceeds to develop a rival hypothesis, which is roughly as follows. He starts with a primary piece of magic: the jar containing *παγκάρπια* is charged with *orenda* and serves as a praedeistic means of ensuring perpetual supplies in the storeroom. In course of time come secondary modifications: water and oil are added, and so the whole becomes *ἀμφορία* and is taken to imply a 'Sondergott' Ktesios ('Der ursprünglich magische Zwangsritus ist zum Opferritus geworden'). Ktesios under the influence of the 'Hauschlange' is conceived as a snake, and is finally identified with an Olympian deity as Zeus *Ktesios*. Reviews by H. J. Rose in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 149 and in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvii. 181, by A. Momigliano in the *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 119, by K. Keyssner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 6, 1933 pp. 493—497, by C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1934 xlvii. 377 f. and in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1934 cx. 247—249.

W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1934 lix. 43 f. no. 6 (Aigina: archaic) Διὸς Παῖοιο | [κ]αὶ Σῶτῆρο[ς], cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* II no. 62 (*supra* 1. 520 n. 2) and W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 no. 36, d 37 and 40 τῶι Παῖοιο.

ii. 1059 Donatus as interp. Serv. On this much-debated point see P. Wessner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* II A. 1837—1842, H. J. Thomson 'Servius auctus and Donatus' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 205 f., G. B. Waldrop 'Donatus, the Interpreter of Vergil and Terence' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1927 xxxviii. 75—142.

ii. 1059 ff. burial in the house. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1930 xxiv. 130 quotes F. von Duhn *Italische Graberkunde* Heidelberg 1924 i. 36 (Saepinum, *Sepino*) for the only example of an Italian buried in and with his house. In 1930 G. Mylonas found 'Middle Helladic' houses, both rectangular and apsidal, on the southern slope of the *akropolis* at Eleusis. 'Under the floors of these houses and between the walls were found burials of small children' (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 197. Further details by G. Karo in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 231 ff.). But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke 'Wohnungsbestattung' in Ébert *Reallex.* xiv. 443—445 and 'Hausgrab' *ib.* v. 215 f.

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktésios* in Thasos. P. Guillon in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 i. 195—200 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a boundary-stone from Thasos inscribed c. 400 B.C. Διὸς | Κτησιο Πατρῶιο and cp. another from the same locality and of similar date published by G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 270 no. 10 [Δι]ὸς | [Α]γοραίο | Θεσίο (summarised by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 617).

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktésios* at Mylasa. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlii. 398 f. no. 3 a fragmentary inscription mentioning 8 f. [τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δέινος, ἐε][ρέα] Διὸς Κτησίου.

ii. 1068 the jars of Zeus. A Pompeian painting from a house in the *Strada della Fortuna* published by H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 19 ff. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 33—35 pl. 4 (=my fig. 921) and reproduced by Remach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 4 ('Jupiter consulte le sort') shows the god seated with one of the Fates holding lots(?) and Nike bearing a palm-branch behind him. He has a long sceptre in his left hand and extends the right, with the lot that he has drawn or is about to draw, over a jar set on the ground at his feet. This painting deteriorated so fast on exposure to the air that a month after its discovery a thunderbolt, originally painted beside the jar in front of the god's right foot, had completely vanished. Heydemann would connect the whole scene with a picture of Herakles and the snakes painted vertically beneath it on the same wall.

A relief dating from c. III B.C. and found at Athens in the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* represents a man and his wife invoking the goddess, who with a large torch held in both hands stands behind her altar and in front of two big jars set on the ground (A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 158 no. 1 pl. 8. P. Rousset *ib.* pp. 164—169 'Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kallisté' traces the significance of the jars and cites the Homeric parallel. E. H. Heffner summarises both papers in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 1069 f. Zeus *Agamemnon*. I. Harrie 'Zeus Agamemnon in Sparta' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 359—369 explains this cult as a case of Hellenistic divinisation ('die Apotheose wird nicht als der Kult einer wirklichen Gottheit betrachtet, es haftet ihr ein Beigeschmack von serviler Schmeichelei an; diese Spartiaten, die den Agamemnon zum Gotterkönig ausrufen, atmen alexandrinische Hoffluft') and seeks to account for its attribution to Sparta by assuming a learned revival of the early lyrical version which connected Agamemnon with Lakedaimon and Amyklai (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 724).

ii. 1070 ff. Zeus *Amphiaraos*. B. Leonardos 'Αμφιαρείου' in the 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1917 pp. 239—242, 'Αμφιάρειου' *ib.* 1918 pp. 110—113, 1919 pp. 99—102, 1922 pp. 101—111, 1923 pp. 166—169 reports on his excavations at the Amphiareion near Oropos over a series of seven successive years. *Id.* 'Αμφιαρείου επιγραφαί' in the 'Εφ. Αρχ. 1885 pp. 93 ff., 153 ff., 1886 p. 53 ff., 1889 p. 1 ff., 1891 p. 71 ff., 1892 p. 33 ff., in the 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1917 pp. 39 ff., 231 ff., 1918 p. 73 ff., 1919 p. 54 ff., 1923 p. 36 ff., 1925—1926 p. 9 ff. collects 160 inscriptions from the site.

ii. 1072 Zeus *amphithalís*. A. Oepke 'Αμφιθαλής im griechischen und hellenistischen Kult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 42—56 deals *in primis* with the young acolytes in the Bacchic inscription found near Torre Nova (A. Vogliano in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 215 ff., F. Cumont *ib.* p. 232 ff., with abstract by C. Alexander *ib.* p. 264 ff.)

and stresses the importance of *pueri ingenii patrum et matrum* in a variety of ancient cults, mystic and otherwise.

ii. 1073 ff. Zeus *Trophimos*. F. Peeters 'À propos de l'oracle de Trophonios. i. Les onctions d'huile et le bain dans l'Hercyna' in *Le Musée Belge* 1929 xxxiii. 27—32 (the anointing with oil before the bath (Paus. 9. 39. 5—7) was not a religious rite, but a practical precaution against cold).

ii. 1075 Demeter *Erinys*. A. H. Krappe 'EPINTΣ' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1932 lxxxii. 305—320 ('die Erinyen sind die ros-gestaltigen Zwillingstochter des Herrn der Erdentiefe und einer alten Fruchtbarkeitsgottheit, einer "Frucht- und Fruchtbarkeit-Frucht," beide gleichfalls ros-gestaltig. . . Nach einer gleichfa . . . ist nur eines der Zwilling-kinder weiblichen Geschlechts; das andere ist ein Hengst. . .').

ii. 1077 f. Zeus *Asklepiós*. Cp. Galen. *περὶ ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων* 1. 2 (ii. 224 f. Kuhn) ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κατ' ἐκείνον ἐτι διέτριβον τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ Σατύρω παιδευόμενος, ἔτος ἦδη τεταρτὸν ἐπιδημοῦντι τῇ Περγᾶμω μετὰ Κουστουνίου Ῥουφίνου, κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῖν τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ (where Kuhn prints the erroneous translation 'divi Aesculapii templum').

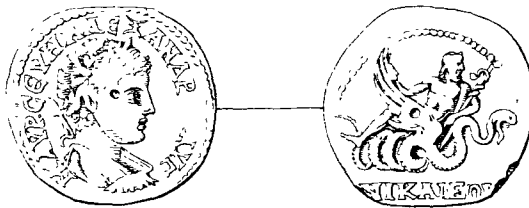


Fig. 922.

ii. 1082 metopes from the temple of Asklepios. But K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 83 f. infers from their lack of an upper border, from their exact height, and from other indications that these are votive reliefs, not metopes at all.

ii. 1082 ff. *Asklepiós* and the Snake. An echo of Asklepios' snake at Epidaurus may be heard in the legend of St Hilarion (Oct. 21), who at Epidaurum or Epidaurus (*Ragusa vecchia*) in southern Dalmatia burnt a huge snake, of the sort called *boa* because they can swallow an ox (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xii. 516 f.). The story is told by Hieron. *v. S. Hilar. eremit.* 39 (xxiii. 50 B—C Migne).

On *Alexandros* or the *Sham Seer* see also A. D. Nock 'Alexander of Abonuteichos' in the *Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 160—162.

Comparable with the coin-types of Glykon is the snake that appears on bronze pieces issued by Caracalla at Pautalia in Thrace. This monster rises erect on quadruple coils with the tail of a fish and a radiate *nimbus* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 144 f. nos. 30—32, *McClellan Cat. Coins* ii. 195 no. 4525 pl. 170, 2) or wreath (*ib.* ii. 196 no. 4526) round his head. A specimen issued by Geta gives him a lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 146 no. 46). Other bronze coins of Pautalia struck by Caracalla show Asklepios with his serpent-staff borne through the air by a winged and bearded snake (*ib.* p. 145 no. 34 fig.). And the same type occurs, under Severus Alexander, at Nikaia in Bithynia (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 474 no. 597 (wrongly described as holding a mask in his right hand) pl. 82, 24. Fig. 922 is from a coin of mine).

ii. 1087. One more effort to find a satisfactory etymology for *Asklepiós* is that of D. Detscev, who in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 1925 iii. 131—164 derives the name from a Thracian stem *ásv- 'snake' and -κλαπιός, *καλαπιός* cognate with the Thracian place-name *κληπι-θάνα* (connected with *glapi and *apio 'to bend'). On which showing *Asklepiós* might mean 'he who moves with serpent coils.' Further summary of these very rash speculations is supplied by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 207 f.

ii. 1089 ff. Telesphoros. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 161 ff. no. 276 fig. 117, A publishes a Thracian statuette of Asklepios, with Telesphoros beside him, now in the Museum at Plovdiv. Other examples of the hooded type are fairly numerous: they occur e.g. in bronze at Amiens (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 13 no. 2), Avignon (ii. 470 no. 5), Djemila (ii. 470 no. 6), Florence (v. 223 no. 6), Nona in Dalmatia (iii. 22 no. 4 f.), Paris

(ii. 470 no. 4), Trèves (iv. 293 no. 3), Troyes (ii. 470 no. 2), in marble at Mantinea (ii. 469 no. 11), Munich (vi. 110 no. 1), in stone at Nîmes (vi. 110 no. 2), and even in amber at Oedenburg (iv. 293 no. 6). The type is further discussed by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 315 ff., H. Herter *De Priapo* Giessen 1932 p. 193 ('Priapus agricolarum potius exemplum hoc vestimenti genere uti videtur'), R. Egger 'Genius Cucullatus' in the *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 1932 xix. 311—323 (two altars inscribed *Genio Cucullato* in a small Celtic temple at Wabelsdorf in Carinthia: this deity, worshipped throughout the Romano-Celtic area, was introduced into Greece by the Galatians from Asia Minor, and under the Greek name Telesphoros travelled far and wide during the early centuries of our era), K. Kerényi 'Telesphoros' in *Egyptemes Philologiai Közlemény* Budapest 1933 lvi. 7—11 (the cult of Telesphoros was essentially Graeco-Roman), F. J. de Waele in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 446 n. 2 (two figurines from Corinth 'may represent a similar small divinity, a predecessor of Telesphoros, as Euamerion... in Titane (Paus. II, 11. 7)'), F. M. Heichelheim 'Genii Cucullati' in *Archaeologia Aethiaca* Fourth Series xii. 187—194 ('among the Celts of the Danube region, Gaul, and Britain, native deities who wore the *cucullus* were assimilated not only to the Roman *genius* and the eastern Telesphoros... but also to the Cabiri... A survival of the *genii cucullati* in the similar representations of dwarfs, hobgoblins, and the like, in the post-Roman period... does not seem unlikely').

ii. 1089 *Grabphalli*. Paus. 8. 34. 2 (near Megalopolis) γῆς χῶμα ἐπίθημα ἔχον λίθου πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χωματί ἐστὶ Δάκτυλον μῆμα is interpreted by C. Belger in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 14. 1892 p. 640 as a *phallós*. But see the facts collected by Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 354—357.

ii. 1090 Zeus *Hórios*. On Zeus 'Oprios see also H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 65, S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* Kristiania 1920 iii. 33, and E. Fehrl in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 648. It must be borne in mind that Zeus 'Oprios was not merely the Greek rendering of Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis*, but also a genuine Hellenic deity, the natural protector of boundaries. Plat. *legg.* 842 E Διὸς ὀρίου μὲν πρῶτος νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω· μὴ κρείτω γῆς ὄρια μηδεὶς κ.τ.λ. implies the sanction of long-standing usage. The calendar of the Attic *tetrápolis* found at *Koukaunari*, which dates from the earlier part of s. iv B.C., prescribes for Skirophorion the sacrifice of a sheep to Zeus 'Oprios (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 1, 11 = J. de Prot *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, A 11 [τάδε ὁ ἄρχων θύσει· Διὶ 'Ορίω οἷς Δ-τ]). And the northern boundary of the Thracian Chersonesos was marked by an inscribed altar of the same god ([Dem.] *de Halounes*. 39 f. καίτοι Χερρονήσου οἱ ὄροι εἰσὶν, οὐκ Ἀγορά, ἀλλὰ βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ορίου, ὅς ἐστι μετὰ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς, ἣ ἡ διορυχὴ ἐμελλε Χερρονήσου ἕσσεσθαι, ὡς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ορίου δηλοῖ. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτ'· τὸντι καθιδρύσαντο θεῶν περικαλλέα βωμῶν | Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεοῦ μέσσον ὄρον θέμενοι | ἐναεταί, χῶρης σημήιον· ἀμμορίης δὲ | αὐτὸς ἀναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης (J. H. Vince translates 'Zeus is Warden of our No Man's Land.' F. Blass had cj. *μοίρης σημήιον ἀμμορίης τε* on the strength of *Od.* 20. 75 f.)). Hence Scholl—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 *Ἐπιθετα Διὸς* . 71 ὀρίου, *ib.* 1. 266 *Ἐπιθετα Διὸς*... 66 ὀρίου. Cp. a dedication of the Abderites to Hadrian as *Τραϊανῶ Ἀδριανῶ | Σεβαστῶ Ζημὶ Ἐφορίῳ* (G. Bakalakis in *Θρακικά* 1937 viii. 29 = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 386 no. 170).

ii. 1091 ff. Zeus *Melichios*. Short studies of this cult in H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philus and Zeus Melichios') and M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (*E Symbolis Philologicis* O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seor-um expressum) Upsaliae 1932 pp. 224—227. G. Blum 'Melichios' in *Le Musée Belge* 1913 xvii. 313—320 held that the appellative meant "'maitre des abeilles," c'est-à-dire des âmes' (A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 423 n. 4): cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 19.

ii. 1095 *κύρβεις*. M. Guarducci "'Axones" e "'kyrbeis"' in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 1929—1931 vii. 101—107 distinguishes *ἀξονες*, three or, more probably, four tables of wood set at an angle to each other and revolving on a common axle, from *κύρβεις*, prismatic or pyramidal blocks of stone tapering towards the top but not made to move: both forms of monument were inscribed *boustraphedón*. She publishes the limestone fragment of a law-*κύρβεις* from *Prinias* (Rhizenia?) and compares with it the inscribed tapering stone from Dreros (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 527) and a similar inscription on a block of red trachyte from Chios (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Nordionsche Steine* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1909 Phil.-hist. Classe ii. 64 ff. pl. 2 no. 25), E. Schwyzer *Dialectorum Graecorum exempla epigraphica potiora* Lipsiae 1923 p. 337 f. no. 687, M. N. Tod *A selection of Greek*

historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C. Oxford 1933 p. 1 ff. no. 1). See now M. Guarducci in *Inscr. Cret.* 1. 84 ff. Dreros no. 1, 297 l. Rhizania? no. 7. Note also the pillar of Poseidon, made of brass and inscribed with the law, in the island of Atlantis (Plat. *Kritias* 119 c ff.). L. B. Holland 'Axones' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 302 (unpublished).

ii. 1099 n. 2 the altar of Zeus *Lataios* on coins of Nikaia. On these coins see now C. T. Selman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1926 lviii. 556 (report of a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 25, 1926).

ii. 1101 Zeus *Xénios*. J. Vurtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 6—8 ('Zeus Xenios'), O. Weinreich s.v. 'Xenios' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 522—525 (a careful and comprehensive collection of *data*).

ii. 1102 n. 4 *Arántides*. H. Krahe 'Zu makedonisch APANTISIN·EPINTSI' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 393—395 regards the name as Illyrian.

ii. 1103. F. N. Pryce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1936 lvi. 77 f. pl. 5 publishes a small Attic bell-*krater*, said to have been found at Corinth and now in the collection of Mr E. Armytage, which appears to show Theseus waiting at the altar of Zeus *Meilichios* to be purified of blood-guiltiness, cp. Bakchyl. 17. 46 ff.

ii. 1103 n. 7 Zeus *Sykásios*. H. Vorwahl 'Zum Ursprung des "Feigenblatts"' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 319 f. rightly concludes: 'So ergibt die philologische Untersuchung eine Bestätigung der psychoanalytischen Bemerkung, dass das Feigenblatt nicht das Symbol der Keuschheit, sondern der bewusst gewordenen Sexualität sei.'

ii. 1105 Zeus *Meilichios* enthroned. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 3 cites a votive relief in the Museum at Corfu (inv. no. 352), which represents Zeus seated to the right on a rock with a sceptre in his left hand, a *phiale* in his right. On either side of him two snakes advance, raising their heads. Before him are traces of a small female votary with uplifted arm. The relief is inscribed in letters of s. iii or earlier *Ἡγησῶ δὲ Μειλίχιου*.

ii. 1114 Zeus *Meilichios* associated with Helios. S. G. Paraskeuaidēs in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1932 ἀρχ. χρον. p. 12 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a grey marble slab from Mytilene bearing a manumission of c. 200 B.C. *Τεῖμυς Εὐκτιμένηη | ἀφείει ἐλευθέραν | Πέλεαν ὑπὸ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον, ἀνέγκλητὸν | μοι γενομένην. | ἐπεὶ κε τὸν βίον ἐγλίπη. Τεῖμυς Εὐκτιμένηη | ἀφείει ἐλευθέραν | ἐλευθέραν | ὑπὸ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον*. He quotes other manumissions *ὑπὸ Δία Ἴην Ἥλιον* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 1212 with n. 2, *supra* ii. 729 n. ο) and *ὑπὸ Δία Ἥλιον* (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1924—1925 ix παράρτ. 5 Thermos).

ii. 1115 Zeus *Meilichios* at Sounion. In the fortress outside the temple at Sounion G. P. Oikonomos in 1924 found 'a votive stele to Zeus Meilichios, with two snakes displayed symmetrically' (A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliii. 274, cp. G. Welter in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. p. 314).

ii. 1124 n. ο a goblet inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Such *γραμματικά ἐκπώματα* have been listed and discussed by C. Picard 'À propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d'un fragment du Musée Kircher' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École Française de Rome) 1910 xxx. 99—116 pls. 2 and 3 and in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 174—178 ('ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΚΠΩΜΑΤΑ'). He enumerates sixteen specimens, of which no. 7 is a *stamnos* from Fasano with a painted inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548), no. 15 a *kylix* of black Attic ware from Pantikapaion incised [ἀμ]φωτες Διὸς Σωτήρ[ος] (B. Pharmakowsky in the *Jahrb. d. Kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 209 f.), no. 16 fig. 5 a fragment of a black-glazed *kántharos* from the Peiraieus lettered in orange-red paint [ΔΙΟΣ] ΣΩΤΗ[ΡΟΣ]. See further C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 105—107.

ii. 1132 the soul of the divine king escaped as a bird. A. H. Krappē in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 184 cites an Iranian tale from F. Spiegel *Erinische Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1873 ii. 43: 'So horen wir (Yt. 19, 34) dass sich die königliche Majestat in Gestalt eines Vogels von Yima entfernte, als derselbe anfang lugnerische Worte zu sprechen; immerhin wird man gedacht haben dass die Majestat auf ein anderes Glied der königlichen Familie uberging.'

ii. 1132 n. 4 the sceptre of Zeus. Cp. Hes. *cat. frag.* 123 Kinkel, 103 Rzach, *ap. Plat. Min.* 320 D (Mimos) *δὲ βασιλεύτατος ἔσκε καταθητῶν βασιλῶν | καὶ πλείστων ἤρασσε περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων | Ζητὸς ἔχων σκῆπτρον· τῷ καὶ πολῶν βασιλῶν.*

ii. 1132 n. 6. On sceptre-worship see also M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xli. 123 n. 5.

ii. 1135 the central slab from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (pl. xliii). One or two fresh facts and fancies must be recorded. W. R. Lethaby 'The Central Part of the

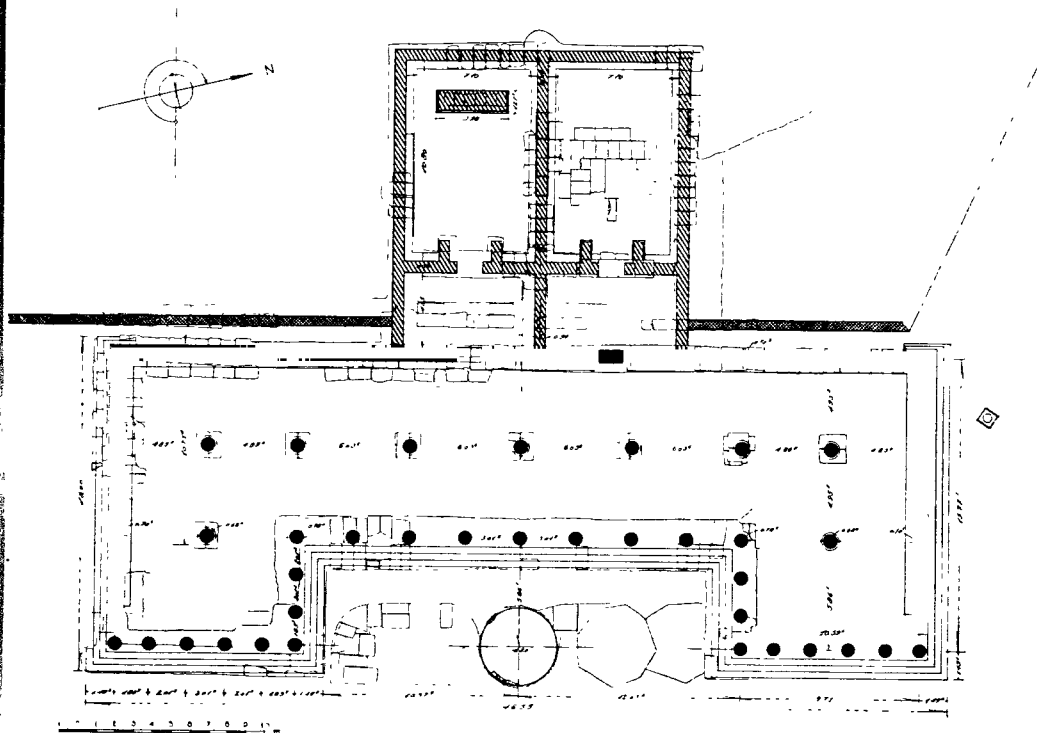


Fig. 923.

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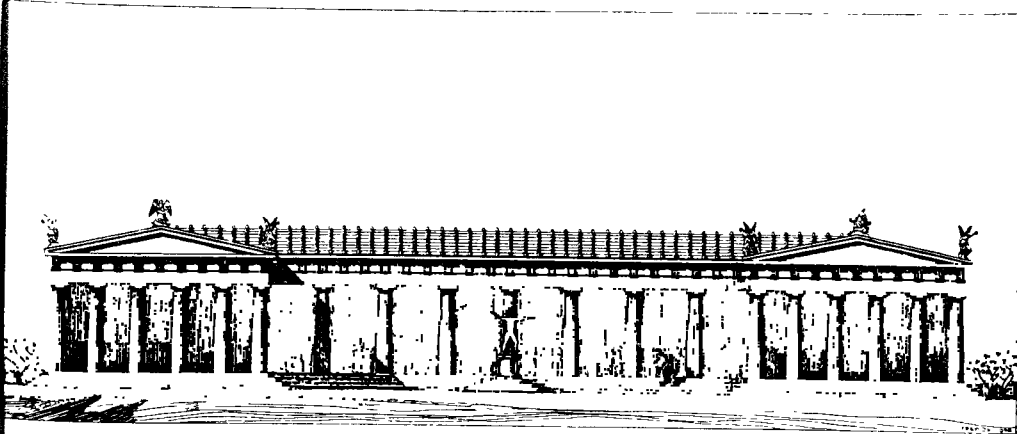


Fig. 924.

Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 7—13 figs. 1—6 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 555 f.) observes that exquisite sepia-drawings made in all probability by William Pars in 1765—6 and now in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum bring out sundry details no longer distinct (heads of Athena and Hephaistos, etc.). 'The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space down through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, I think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple.'

Lily Ross Taylor 'Seats and Peplos on the Parthenon Frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 121 and *ead.* 'A Sellisternium on the Parthenon Frieze' in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* London 1937 pp. 253—264 figs. 1—7 suggests that the *péplos* was intended, not as clothing for the *xóanon* of Athena, but as drapery to be placed over the chair of one of the gods.

ii. 1135 n. 4. N. Valmin 'Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen' in the *K. Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse* 1933—1934 i (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1933—1934 i) Lund 1934 pp. 1—7 with fig. 1 ('Skizzenplan') rightly located the *Stoà Bastileos* and identified it with the *Stoà* of 'Zeus Soter-Eleutherios.' O. Walter 'Zeus- und Königshalle der Athener Agora' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1936 xxx Beiblatt pp. 95—100 maintains that the *Stoà Bastileos* (c. 500 B.C.) was distinct from the *Stoà* of Zeus *Eleuthérios* (shortly before 400 B.C.). But that is not the view taken by the American excavators of the *Agorà* (*Hesperia* 1937 vi. 225 f.). Thanks to their highly successful re-earches it is now possible to assert with some confidence that the *Stoà Bastileos* was identical with the *Stoà* of Zeus *Eleuthérios*, and to get some idea of its history and appearance. See the definitive account of the building contributed by H. A. Thompson to *Hesperia* 1937 vi. 5—77 ('Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios') with pl. 1 groundplan, actual state, pl. 2 groundplan, restored, and 39 figs. By the courtesy of Mr Thompson I am able to reproduce both the restored plan (pl. 2 = my fig. 923) and the restored elevation (fig. 34 = my fig. 924) of this important structure. It seems probable that certain earlier remains found beneath the *Stoà* (rectangular base of *póros* with neighbouring altar) belonged to a sanctuary of Zeus *Sotér* or *Eleuthérios* (schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1175 ἐν ἄστει Δία Σωτήρα τιμῶσιν, ἐνθα καὶ Σωτήρος Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἐνιοὶ καὶ Ἐλευθέρϊον φασί), who owed his second title to the deliverance from Persia that he had wrought (Harpokr. s.v. Ἐλευθέρϊος Ζεὺς· Ἐπρεϊδῆς (*frag.* 25 p. 279 a 32 ff. Sauppe) "τῷ μὲν τοῖνυν Δίῳ, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί. ἡ ἐπιωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθέρϊου προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοᾶν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ." ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος φησὶν ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα· ἐκλήθη γὰρ Ἐλευθέρϊος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγράφεται μὲν Σωτήρ, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέρϊος. δηλοὶ καὶ Μένανδρος, cp. *et mag.* p. 329, 44 ff.). The pre-Peric statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 480/479 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation *Eleuthérios*. When the *Stoà* was designed, c. 430 B.C., room was left in front of it for the famous figure on a large circular base. The building, which was virtually completed by 409/8 B.C. (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 117, 7 f. [πρὸςθεν τ]ῆ[ς] Στοᾶς τῆς Βασιλείας), was a Doric colonnade with a *façade* of seven columns and two wings of six by four columns—an arrangement perhaps suggested by that of Mnesikles' Propylaea. On the back-wall were paintings of the Twelve Gods (Paus. i. 3. 3); on 'the wall beyond,' probably the south wall, paintings of Theseus and Demokritia and Demos (Paus. *ib.*); also, presumably on the north wall, a painting of the battle fought at Mantinea by the Athenians sent to help the Lacedaemonians (Paus. i. 3. 4). The paintings were by Euphranor (Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 129, Plout. *de g'or. Ath.* 2, Loukian. *imagg.* 7, Paus. i. 3. 4, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff.). The tiled roof had two *akrotéria* in terra cotta, which represented Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Kephalos (Paus. i. 3. 1), perhaps a relic of the official quarters assigned to the *basileús* before the Persian invasion (see, however, the suggestions of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 95 f.). An annex of two large rooms was built behind the *Stoà* in s. 1 A.D. to secure greater privacy for the court of the *basileús* and for occasional meetings of the council of the Areopagites (cp. Dem. *in Aristog.* i. 23).

ii. 1137 n. 0 the *basileús* about to wear Athena's *péplos* (?). Cp. Diod. i. 14 (each of the gods honoured Herakles with special gifts) Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν πέπλω, Ἥφαιστος δὲ ῥοπάλω καὶ θώρακι. For interchange of clothing see further W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 216 ff.

ii. 1143. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. p. 76 190. 25 records the acquisition by the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 30021,

photo 3440) of a small bronze snake (0.187^m long) with raised head and inlaid pupils. Its back is inscribed in archaic lettering ΙΑΡΟΣΕΜΙΤΟΜΕΛΛΙΨΙΟΤΟ-ΠΕΛΑΝΑΙ (ἱαρός ἐμὶ τῷ Μελλιχίῳ τῷ Πελάναί). This was purchased at Paris in 1911 as coming from the Peloponnese, and A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 4 states that in 1916 he saw near the find-spot (Pellana in Achaia) a second small bronze snake, but uninscribed, which was said to have been found at the same time.

ii. 1146 n. ο pyramidal tombs for horses at Agrigentum. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell found at Saqqara two mummies of horses, dating from the reign of Ramses ii (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1926 p. 205 f.). But on Greek pyramidal structures see now the important paper of L. E. Lord in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 78—84.

ii. 1150 tomb-ceiling as mimic sky. Sir A. J. Evans in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 26, 1931 p. 485 ff. publishes a temple-tomb close to the palace at Knossos. The rock-cut sepulchral chamber had a central pillar, and 'the rock ceiling—squares of which were visible between the beams—had been tinted with the brilliant Egyptian blue, or *kyanos*, so that the dead beneath the vault might not be without the illusion of the sky above.' See further *id.* *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 975 and context.

ii. 1151 Zeus *Meilichios* at Thespiai, etc. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 422 f. no. 43 cites a fragmentary inscription from Thespiai Δεξιάδας, Πτέρωπος | ἱαρεὺς | Δι[ι Μι]λιχίῳ | κῆ Μελιχίῳ. | κ.τ.λ. and no. 44 another from the same place Θρασύμαχος | Θέωνος ἱαρεὺς | Δι Μελιχίῳ. *Id.* *ib.* p. 423 n. 2 refers to A. D. Keramopoulos in the *Arch. Δελτ.* 1917 iii. 422 n. ο no. 2 (Lebadeia) a marble *stelation* (height 0.23^m) bearing an *omphalos* (height c. 0.05^m) and beneath it the inscription [Σ]ωσίας | Δαίμωνι | Μελιχίῳ with a snake creeping up towards it: Keramopoulos observes that Δαίμων Μελιχίος may well be the Ἄγαθος Δαίμων. Plassart p. 423 n. 3 adds A. Jardé—M. Laurent in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvii. 324 ff. no. 15 (Anthedon) a marble *stèle* (height 0.40^m) with a snake [Ἀ]πολλόνι[ος] | [Κ]αφισοῦ[του] | [Δι]εῖ (or [Ζην]εῖ?) Μελιχί[ω] found above the door of the church of Hagios Athanasios, which appears to stand on the site of the sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios*.

ii. 1153 n. ι. See further P. Kretschmer 'Oidipus und Melampus' in *Glotta* 1923 xii. 59—61, E. Frankel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 447, H. Pettersson in M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932 p. 105 n. 11, L. W. Daly in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2104 f.

ii. 1155 Zeus *Meilichios* in Thessaly. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 145 (Thebae Phthiotides) a white stone inscribed Δι Μελιχίῳ | Κρωῶ | Ἄρσι[α]? | ἀνεθ[η][κ]εν.

ii. 1156 Akrisios. A. H. Krappe in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1930 lviii. 157 treats Akrisios as 'le vieux dieu Cronos lui-même' and compares Akrisios' expulsion of the infant Perseus (influencing the legend of Astyages and Kyros the Persian) with Kronos' expulsion of the infant Zeus, concluding that a folk-tale *motif* may be traced in both myths and even in the *quasi*-historical legend. L. Bieler in *Wiener Studien* 1931 xlix. 120—123 ('Der Tod des Akrisios') regards Ἀκρίσιος as Illyrian, *Τευταμίδας* as 'vorigriechisch-pelagisch.' H. Krahe 'Sprachwissenschaftliches zur Sage von der Flucht des Akrisios' *ib.* 1933 li. 141—143 argues that both Ἀκρίσιος and *Τευταμίδας* are names of Illyrian origin.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Samos. E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1924 xlix. 42 no. 9 a votive inscription from *Τιγανί Κλέας Μεγάκλου* | Δι Μελιχίῳ.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Nisyros. W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1932 lviii. 57 f. no. 8 an inscription of Roman date from Rhodes (G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodios* 1932 ii. 213 f. no. 52) Καλλικράτην ἱεῖρα πατρός γεγαῶτα Θεῶνος | Ζηνός Μελλιχίῳ κλυτῆ Νείσυρος ἀεῖδει and Ζεὺ μ[ε]τέ[ω]ν Νείσυρον. ἀπήμονα σῶξε Θεῶνα | Καλλικράτους, δν στέψας, ἐπεὶ τὸς εἶρος ἐρύχθη. The two distichs are engraved within two wreaths on a *tabula ansata* of white marble. R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 765 adds *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 95 and 96.

ii. 1157 Zeus *Meilichios* in Kypros. T. B. Mitford in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1937 lvii. 29 no. 2 a boundary-stone at Amathous ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟΥ in large lettering with ΩΝ (*quid?*) in smaller lettering to the left of the second line.

ii. 1157 n. ο Zeus *Apotrópaios*. E. A. Gardner—F. Ll. Griffith *Naukratis* London 1888 ii. 13, 61, 68 no. 14 pl. 22 ἱερὸν Δι[ὸς Ἀπ]οτροπ[αίου] on a stone found in the *témenos* of Hera.

For the sale of priesthoods at Erythrai see L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Kyrene. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Hermes* 1930 lxx. 257 f. ('Lesefruchte' no. 280) cites rock-cut inscriptions at and near Kyrene to show that the dead were associated in cult with the Eumenides and with Zeus *Meilichios* (after S. Ferri *Contributi di Cirene alla storia della religione greca* (Collezione *Γραφή*. 2) Roma 1923) pl. 10).

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. K. Lehmann-Hartleben in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 179 fig. 36 briefly reports the discovery by E. Gábrici of a sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. This small *témenos* occupied the north-east angle of the large site sacred to Demeter *Malophoros*, just as the *témenos* of Hekate *Propylata* occupied the south-east angle. For a full account of it see E. Gábrici's official publication in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 91—107 figs. 53—64

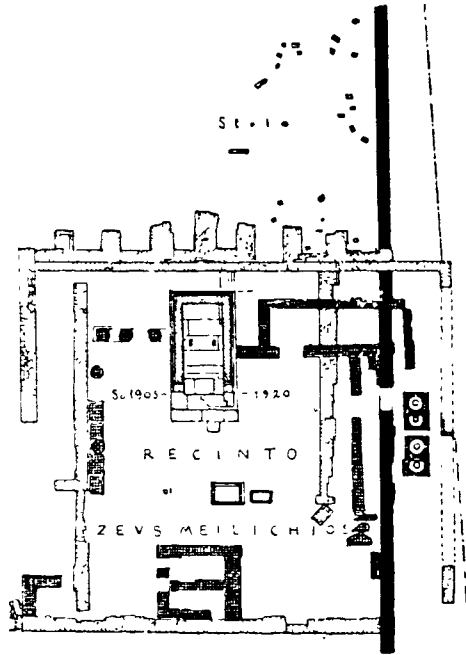


Fig. 925.

('Edicola ed altari di Melichios e della Pasikrateia (?)', 174—181 ('Stele figurate del recinto di Melichios'), 381—383 (inscriptions), 403—405 (cult). The precinct (pl. 2, part of which = my fig. 925) included a little temple, the base of which measured only 5.20^m by 2.97^m—a mere casket for the statue or statues within. Two Doric columns stood opposite the *antae*; but their entablature was of a simplified Ionic order (fig. 58 = my fig. 926). In front of the temple were two oblong altars, one large, one small; and it was originally flanked by a pair of porticoes, each with five columns. Behind the west wall of the precinct were found numerous *stélai*, mostly small piers square in section, or pyramidal, or cylindrical, and nearly all without inscription. The few inscribed blocks were archaic in character: p. 381 f. no. 3 pl. 97, 4 τὸ Διὸς τὸ Μελιχίῳ ἐμὶ | πρῶτα Εὐμένιδος τὸ Πεδιάρχου ('I, the first-fruits of Eumenides son of Pediarchos, belong to Zeus *Meilichios*.' Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 1930 lxx. 258 c). πρὸ τᾶ(ν) Εὐμένιδος(ν)), p. 382 no. 4 pl. 97, 1 = my fig. 927 Λυκίσσο (perhaps Γλυκίσσο) ἐμὶ Μελίχῳ, p. 382 f. no. 5 pl. 97, 2 Μελίχῳ | τὸν Κλευλιδᾶν, p. 384 no. 9 pl. 97, 3 τὸ Μελίχῳ -]σαροφ[-]ς. Other finds on the site were a double altar of simpler type (fig. 62), and several small wells (figs. 63—66) for the storage of lustral water, etc. Offerings made to the god were vases and objects of minor worth, which were burnt along with the animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes: over them was erected a *stèle*, often surmounted by a pair of busts, male and female (pls. 27, 1—4, 28, 1—6, 29, 1—8, of which 27, 3 f. = my figs. 928 f.). Gábrici concludes

that the whole cult had a chthonian character, Zeus *Meilichios* and Pasikrateia (?) being the Selinuntine equivalents of Hades and Persephone.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Pompeii. For a description of his temple in *Reg.* viii. 7 (8). 25 see A. Mau—A. Ippel *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 162 f. R. C. Carrington in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 132 pl. 10 figures the wall of it and dates it early in 5. i B.C.

ii. 1159 n. 1. On the names Δάξμος, Δάξος, and the like see H. Krabe *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 86 and R. Vulpe 'Gli Illiri dell' Italia imperiale romana' in the *Ephemeris Dacoromana* (Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma) 1925 iii. 131, 145 n. 1, 217. And on the Lares, E. Tabelaing *Mater Larum* Zum Wesen der Larenreligion Frankfurt am Main 1932 pp. 1—104.

ii. 1160 ff. Zeus *Philios*. See H. Sjøvall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Meilichios'), M. P. Nilsson 'Die Gotter des Symposions' (E. Symbolis Philologicis O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) Upsaliae 1932 pp. 218—224.

ii. 1161 ff. Zeus *Philios* at Athens. Gabriel Welter 'Eine Weihung an Zeus Philios' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 165 f. publishes an inscription of the early fourth century B.C., found in a Byzantine wall above the *odeion* of Herodes Attikos at Athens and probably

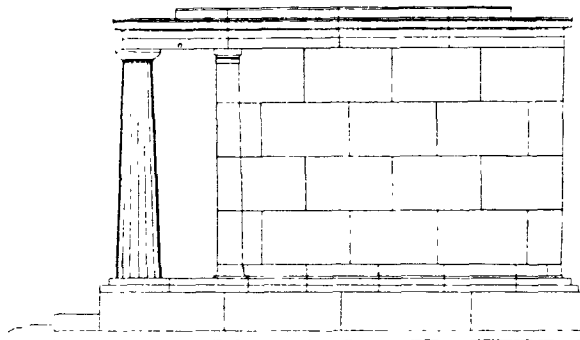


Fig. 926.

derived from the adjoining Asklepieion: Αἰσικράτης [Αἰσικλέος | ἐκ Κο[λ]ωνῶ Δ[ε]ῖ Φιλίωι | ἀ]νε[θ]η[κεν].

ii. 1163 n. 6. H. J. Rose 'The Bride of Hades' in *Classical Philology* 1925 xv. 238—243 (the idea underlying Soph. *Ant.* 815 and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste).

ii. 1167 love in relation to Zeus. Dion Chrys. *or.* 4 p. 71 Dindorf ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ φιλιαν οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τὸ ταῦτά βούλεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, ὁμόνοιαν τινα οἶσαν... ἃς ἐν οἴνῳ τῷ Διὶ φίλος ἢ καὶ ὁμοιοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἀδίκου τινὸς ἐπιθυμήσει (πράγματος ἢ πονηρὸν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν διανοηθήσεται: On this subject of personal intimacy with Zeus see further the able articles of F. Dirlmeier on 'ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ—ΦΙΛΟΘΕΙΑ' in *Philologus* 1935 xc. 57—77 and 176—193.

ii. 1167 f. Diotima's τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά. A. M. Desrousseau 'Plutarque, Mor. 382^{cd}' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlvi. 210—213 (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 78 διὸ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐποπτικὸν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καλοῦσιν, ὡς (Desrousseau *corr.* ὦ νε!, *quod praestat, ἐν ᾧ*) οἱ τὰ δοξαστά καὶ μικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῦτα παραμειψάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκείνο καὶ ἀπλοῦν καὶ αὔλον ἐξάλλονται καὶ, θιγόντες ἀπλῶς (so Reiske for ἄλλως) τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ καθαρᾶς ἀληθείας, οἷον ἐν τελετῇ (so Reiske for ἐντελεῇ) τέλος, ἔχειν φιλοσοφίαν νομίζουσι—from which it is clear that Aristotle was following the very words of his master in *symp.* 210 A).

ii. 1176 n. 4 Zeus *Ephéstios*. See now H. Sjøvall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 p. 115 f.

ii. 1177 n. 2. Cp. Aristot. *eis Ἐρμείαν* 16 ff. Edmonds, 14 f. Diehl *ap.* Athen. 696 D, Diog. Laert. 5. 8, Stob. *flor.* 1. 12 (ed. Gaisford i. 5) τοίγαρ αἰδιμον ἔργου | ἀθάνατον τέ μιν ἀδήσουσι (so Wilamowitz for ἀξήσουσι) Μούσαι, | Μναμοσύνας θύγατραι, | Διὸς Ξενίου σέβας αἰξουσαι φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίον.



Fig. 927.



• Fig. 928.



Fig. 929.

ii. 1179 ff. Trajan and Zeus *Philius* at Pergamon. W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 lxi. 177—188 adduces a series of official Pergamene inscriptions (nine decrees and two letters) to show that the complete deification of Augustus was reached through three successive phases: (1) from 27 B.C. to 3 B.C. he was *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστοῦ*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*; (2) from 2 B.C. to 14 A.D. Augustus was *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερεὺς μεγίστος καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς μεγίστου καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*; (3) from 15 A.D. onwards (after his death on Aug. 19, 14 A.D. and his consecration by the Senate on Sept. 17, 14 A.D.) Augustus became *θεὸς Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρ Ζεὺς Πατρώος αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Διὸς Πατρώος αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μεγίστου, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*. Thus Augustus while alive was treated as (1) a hero and (2) a demi-god, when dead was raised to the rank of (3) a god and identified with Zeus Πατρώος. The documents relevant to this third stage are (a) Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* London 1862—1863 ii. 2. 695—698 no. 6 pl. 87, G. Hirschfeld in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1893 iv. 1. 63—65 no. 894; (b) J. Keil 'Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia' in the *Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 101—107 (Odemish near Hyraipa); (c) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3187 (Smyrna). Cp. also (d) a marble pedestal from Aphrodisias, which must have carried a statue of Zeus with the features of Augustus, inscribed *Δία Πατρώων | [Σεβ]αστοῦ Καίσαρα* (W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the *Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* 1893 p. 103 no. 13); and (e) a dedication from Dorylaeion [*θεῶι Σεβαστῶι Καίσαρι θ(ε)οῦ υἱοῦ Διὸς Πατρώου, πατρὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους.*] κ.τ.λ. (I. Melopoulos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 480 f., Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 479). Mr Buckler concludes his very noteworthy article on Augustus at Pergamon by a further suggestion: 'En y acceptant l'épithète divine, Trajan imitait le plus illustre de ses prédécesseurs; n'aurait-il pas choisi celle de Zeus Philios, symbole de sa bienveillance, afin de marquer le contraste avec les antiques splendeurs du Zeus Patroos?'

ii. 1187 n. 6 fig. 990 Zeus *Nemeios* at Alexandria. His wreath is probably of oak-leaves, not *selinon*. Oak-wreath and *aigis* are characteristic of Zeus on Alexandrine cameos (*supra* p. 537 f.).

P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1918 p. 192 f. fig. 39 publishes a dedication (no. 11) from Epidaurus: 'Ἦρα Ἀργεῖα | Διὶ Νεμεῖω | πατρίο[ς] θεοῖς ὁ ἱεροφάντης | Διογενῆς ἱερα πολήσας τοῦ | Σωτήρος τὸ | ΡΟΔ' ἔτος (= 297 A.D., cp *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 1001 and 1002).

ii. 1187 n. 4. D. M. Robinson at Olynthos found Bottiaean pottery of quasi-Aegean character (A. W. Lawrence on *Hdt.* 8. 127. See G. E. Mylonas in D. M. Robinson *Excavations at Olynthus* Baltimore 1933 v. 60—63 (Group iii, second half of s. vi to beginning of s. v B.C.)).

ii. 1191 Olympic contests at Daphne. A bronze statuette (height 6 inches) now in the British Museum shows a naked youth carrying a board (?) inscribed in relief **ANTIOX-EQN | ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ | ΔΑΦΝΗΙ** (Sir E. J. Fordeyke in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1920—1930 iv. 70 f. pl. 44, d)—presumably a record of success in these sports.

ii. 1194 emperors wearing the *aigis*. J. Arneth *Monumente des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien* Wien 1849 p. 31 f. pl. 18, 2 an onyx engraved with Julian(?) as a beardless Zeus. He wears an *aigis* and holds a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. At his left side is a trophy with seated prisoner; at his right side, an eagle. The legs of Zeus, the field, and the back of the whole gem are covered with 'Gnostic' inscriptions.

ii. 1197 n. 3. To the bibliography of Antiocheia add E. S. Bouchier *A short History of Antioch 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268* Oxford 1921 pp. 1—324.

n. 1213 'Jupiter-columns.' M. P. Nilsson 'Zur Deutung der Jupitergigantensäulen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 182—184 argues from the wheel etc. that the god in question was a Celtic deity (Tarants?).

ii. 1213 the Column of Mayence. On Quilling's views see also L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 310 f.

ii. 1216 the *omphalos* found by F. Courby at Delphi. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 1 states that in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 (not 1920) i. 172 he did not regard Courby's *omphalos* as 'faux,' but holds that the inscription on it

('archaique?') raises many doubts—see P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1915 xxviii. 457, *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 49 n. 1. C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliiii. 136 still hesitates ('L'omphalos n° 19 n'a pas encore ses lettres de créance bien établies').

ii. 1218 the witch-cult in western Europe. Cp. Miss M. A. Murray *The God of the Witches* London (1933) pp. 1—214 (reviewed by H. Coote Lake in *Folk-Lore* 1934 xlv. 277 f.) and *e contra* C. L'Estrange Ewen *Some Witchcraft Criticisms* (London) 1938 (printed for the author) pp. 1—6.

ii. 1219 the Milky Way conceived as a tree. U. Holmberg in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric. Siberian). 82 cites the 'song of the Great Oak'—a Finnish account of the Milky Way 'regarded by some Arctic tribes as being the trunk of a great tree, along which those killed in battle wander.'

ii. 1221 the axe from Mallia. J. Charbonneaux in the *Mon. Piot* 1925—1926 xxviii. 6 ff. pl. 2 and figs. 3, 4, 6 publishes this axe as ending in the forepart of a panther, not a lioness. So also C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 n. 1, 78 n. 3, and P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 fig. 6.

ii. 1221 fig. 1015 relief of lictors' axes. For similar reliefs see Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 19 f. Scala 1 nos. 1 and 2 pl. 9, *ib.* p. 157 Sala degli Orti Mecenateziani no. 6 b pl. 59.

ii. 1221 the 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia. See now H. Muhlestein *Die Kunst der Etrusker* Berlin 1929 p. 85 n. o and p. 228 f., who in fig. 149 publishes a good photograph (Alinari 45 853) of the 'Eisernes Rutenbeil < Labrys > aus Vetulonia < Tomba del Littore > Mus. archeologico Florenz' and refers it to s. vii B.C.

ii. 1221 carvings in amber. Other examples (human and simian figures from Vetulonia) in D. K. MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 107 fig. 25.

ii. 1222 fig. 1017 the earliest representation of Zeus (?). S. Benton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1934—1935 xxxv. 85, 98 pl. 21, 1—3 provides three excellent photographs of this little bronze, but calls it cautiously 'the Dodona thrower,' 'the Dodona figure.'

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 80 suggests that a terra-cotta head and a stone axe found in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine 'are the earliest representations of Zeus, the Greek god of thunder.' See further O. Frodin in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 25, 1926 p. 548 fig. (2) and Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head (0.105^m high) showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vases, including a two-handled bowl of the 'Granary Class' (A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1922, 1922—1923 xxv. 40 f. ('The Granary Class of L. H. III. Pottery')) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1228 Zeus *Telesionurgós* at Miletos. K. Latte 'Zeús Τηλεσιουργός' in *Philologus* 1930 lxxxv. 225—227 notes that in both inscriptions this is the god to whom sacrifice is made by a new priest at his ordination. Hence, he thinks, we obtain light on Hesych. *τηλεσίργων παιάνα· τὸν ἐπιτελεστικὸν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελουμένων ἱερῶν*, where the manuscript reading *τηλεσιγέρων* was wrongly altered by T. Hemsterhuys into *τηλεσίερον*—a blunder perpetuated by M. Schmidt in both his editions. Sir H. Stuart Jones, however, in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1770 (following E. Diehl *Supplementum Lyricum*³ Bonn 1917 p. 66) says 'prob. a gloss on *τηλεσισι[ε]ρον παιάνα* in *Pi. Pae.* 7. 2.' Unfortunately the text in Pindar is very insecure. O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 3 records Wilamowitz' cj. *τηλεσισι[ε]ρη] θεοῦ* cp. schol. *ἔπεισι*.

ii. 1229 relief of Agdistis and Attis. A Hellenistic relief (height 0.61^m), found in the Peiraieus and now in the Berlin Antiquarium, shows Agdistis as a draped goddess, with a *týmpanon* in her left hand, presenting a flower to a youthful Attis, who sits before her clad in the costume of Asia Minor (*Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*² Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 106 no. 1612).

iii. 35 n. 10. Cp. Nikephoros Basilakes *progymn.* 7. 10 (i. 489, 5 f. Walz) *ἀνωθεν συνῆγε τὰς νεφέλας ὁ Ζεὺς*.

iii. 57 n. 2. J. D. Beazley *Der berliner Maler* Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1930 p. 21 no. 202 pl. 13, 3 fragments of a red-figured *hydria* at Athens (G 251) 'Triballos?' a barbarian in panther-skin (?) with *phallós* on staff, forehead, and nose! Perhaps cp. E. de Chanot 'Géryon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 136—138 pl. 22 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 26 no. 7, if not also Babelon-Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 482 f. no. 1175. To the literary allusions add Iuv. 6. O 26, and see W. B. McDaniel in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 35 n. 1.

iii. 63 n. 3. See now E. Kapp 'Πισθέταιρος' in *Philologus* 1929 N.F. xxviii. 259—261 (defends Π17θ- against Π1εθ-).

iii. 85 n. o (2) fig. 28. This sarcophagus, now at Zagreb, is better published by G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 229 ff. fig. 2.

iii. 165 the sanctity of dew. J. Roscoe *The Northern Bantu* Cambridge 1915 p. 28: Among the Banyoro is a clan called 'The *Basita*, whose principal totem is the Milch Cow which has been with a bull, and their second Dew upon the Grass. The members of this clan avoid for several days drinking milk from a cow which has been with a bull, and also refrain from walking in grass while dew rests on it.'

iii. 245 f. The *epiboion*, as its name implies, was a sacrifice subsequent to, or additional to, that of a cow for Athena, and must not be viewed as a preliminary rite.

iii. 292 sea-bathing as a rain-charm. Miss M. A. Murray has kindly sent me a note (July 17, 1938) 'about ceremonial bathing (by the whole population), on a set day in the spring, in the sea. It is done at Gaza by Bedu and fellahin alike, men, women, children & animals. I think it may be connected with the cult of Atargatis.' May we not rather suppose that this is only another case of communal rain-charm?

iii. 298 the formula *kōnx, ómpax*. I would venture to compare a spell to stop nose-bleeding by a whispered *mōx, pōx, rōpx* (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 233 no. 40 and p. 360 μ'. *Ἐπὶ μύτην ὀποῦ τρέχει, λέγει εἰς τὸ μέγος ἐκείνου ὀποῦ τρέχει, κρυφίως εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μὀξ, πᾶξ, ρῖπξ, καὶ θέλει παύσῃ*—an extract from a medical treatise contained in an eighteenth-century MS. possibly written by a physician named Constantine Rizioti).

iii. 322 n. o *Ἱήμιον ὕδωρ*. Cp. the sacred and curative character of Ascension Day rain-water. A. R. Wright—T. E. Lones *British Calendar Customs* (England 1) London 1936 p. 141 f. cite examples from five counties, of which one will serve: 'A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from heaven. The reason that she preserved it was that it was good for weak or sore eyes' (Cuthbert Bede in *Notes and Queries* Sixth Series 1883 vii. 367).

iii. 336 n. 5. Sieve-superstitions are collected with a wealth of detail by Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 vii. 1662—1686 ('Sieb'), 1686—1701 ('Siebdrehen, Sieblaufen, Siebtreiben').

iii. 341 n. 3. On the pentagram see further Col. Allotte de La Fuye 'Le Pentagramme pythagoricien, sa diffusion, son emploi dans le syllabaire cunéiforme' in *Babyloniaca* 1934 xiv. 1—56 figs. 1—10.

iii. 345 n. 1. With regard to Egyptian receptacles for *ziwra* Mr Sidney Smith informs me (Nov. 17, 1934) (1) that limestone pots with plain lids go back to the late Old Kingdom (Dyns. v—vi), (2) that jars with lids in the shape of the deceased's head are typical of the Middle Kingdom and occur down to Dyn. xviii, and (3) that 'the four children of Horus' belong to the New Kingdom from the late xviiith Dyn. onwards.

iii. 348 the 'Canopi' of Osiris. See now F. W. Freiherr von Bissing *Ägyptische Kultbilder der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit (Der Alte Orient* xxxiv. 1/2) Leipzig 1936 pp. 28—34 'Das Kultbild von Kanopos' pl. 4, 10 a and 10 b (an Osiris of Kanopos in marble, from Egypt), pl. 4, 11 a (an Osiris of Kanopos in bronze, from Egypt, resting on an 'Opfertafel'), pl. 5, 11 b (an Osiris of Kanopos, owned by the Queen of the Netherlands), pl. 8, 18 (a Kanopos with spiral fluting, in the Vatican).

iii. 348 Nile-water. The sanctity of Nile-water is discussed by F. J. Dolger *Antike und Christentum* Munster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nilwasser und Taufwasser').

iii. 349. The noë was not the wife, but the unsuccessful lover, of Kanobos (n. 8).

iii. 358 n. 6. G. A. Megas in *Hermes* 1933 lxxviii. 415 ff. argues that the story of the Danaïdes was a folk-tale later localised at Argos. He cites (after B. Chalatzianz in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1909 xix. 362) an Armenian parallel, heard at Etschmatsin in 1899, which however so closely resembles the Greek myth that I should rather assume classical influence, direct or indirect.

iii. 426 the Danaïdes and the fertility-charm. C. F. A. Schaeffer in his Schweich Lecture of Jan. 27, 1937 ('Fertility cult and cult of the dead at Ugarit. Devices for libations in the Mycenaean tombs. The jar of the Danaïdes') compared the *πίθοι τερπημένοι* of the Danaïdes with the libation-funnels at Ras Shamra. *Id.* 'Les fougues de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935)' in *Syria* 1936 xvii. 105—148 refers to the period 'Minoen ou Helladic récent III' (s. xiv—xiii B.C.) several sepulchral deposits (p. 112 f. with fig. 4) 'caractérisés par la présence d'un grand entonnoir à libation percé d'ouvertures enfoncé verticalement dans la terre avec, à sa base, une accumulation de vases. Parmi eux des rhytons attestent bien le caractère votif de ces dispositifs (fig.

et 4). Comme nous l'avions déjà dit⁽²⁾ (⁽²⁾Cf. Rapport de la troisième campagne, *Syria*, 1932, p. 12), ils ont dû servir au rite magique, ayant probablement pour but de favoriser la fécondité de la terre et dont l'une des tablettes de Ras Shamra semble donner la formule⁽¹⁾ (⁽¹⁾L. c., *Syria*, 1932, p. 12).⁷

ii. 429 the *manalis lapis*. F. Bomer 'Der sogenannte lapis manalis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 270—281 discusses previous interpretations of this 'Regenstein,' rejecting both the derivation from *manare* and that from *Manes*. He starts afresh from the authoritative statements of Varro (*supra* p. 435 n. 2) and contends that *aquae māniale* meant a 'Handkrug für Wasser,' being derived from *mānus* (cp. *id.* 'Lat. *aquae manale*' in *Glotta* 1937 xxvi. 1—7): that *mānialis lapis*—originally termed *māniale sacrum*—was a sacred water-pot, probably a hollow stone of pot-like formation used for ritual purposes (so O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1885 II. 154 n. 1); and that later this *mānialis lapis* was confused with the *lapis Mānialis* or 'stone of the *Manes*.' Festus' *ostium Orci* (*supra* p. 432 n. 4). Bomer sums up: 'Das Instrument des römischen Regenzaubers war ein *manuale sacrum*, ein heiliges Wassergefäß; der wirkliche *lapis manalis*, der Stein der Manen, steht mit dem Regen in keiner Verbindung. Emen *lapis manalis* als Regenstein, an den man bisher glaubte, hat es nie gegeben. Er ist eine etymologische Konstruktion der Antiquare.'

ii. 434 f. the *manalis petrae*. T. F. G. Dexter *The Sacred Stone* Perranporth (1929) p. 27 no. 51 cites from Morris *Celtic Researches* a 'Maen Glaw' or 'Rain Stone,' '... which they rolled about when they wanted rain,' and compares the *Lapis Manalis* at Rome.

iii. 475 f. the birth of Montezuma. Cp. E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 11 'A pearl fell into the bosom of a girl and she swallowed it, as the Chinese tell, with the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.'

iii. 538 n. o pl. xlv. F. Lenormant 'Jupiter Egeiochus, camée sur chrysoprase' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1875 I. 95—99 pl. 13 published a very large cameo from the Northwick collection (then owned by Feuardent), a chrysoprase in the Asia Minor style of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Its subject is a facing Zeus, almost exactly like that of my malachite relief, but coarser in effect and without acorns on the oak-wreath.

iii. 564 ff. 'ox-driving.' F. Cumont 'St. George and Mithra "The Cattle-Thief"' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 63—71 notes that at the monastery of Ilori in Mingrelia, as late as c. 1850 A.D. 'every year on the Festival of St. George, to whom the church of the monastery was dedicated, an ox mysteriously entered the building ready for sacrifice.' Cumont argues that St George has here replaced Mithras the *Βουκόλος θεός* (Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18).

iii. 573 Zeus *Polieús* and altar. (Mrs) J. P. Shear in *Hesperia* 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22, 6—8 says: 'Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the *Diastia*, which was of a propitiatory character?' *Ead. ib.* p. 301 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 548] would recognise the altar of Zeus *Polias* [*sic*] and associate it with the *Dipoleia*. She gives the same explanation of the *bucranium*-type (her pl. 5, 1—29).

iii. 580 n. o with fig. 404. See now C. Watzinger in Furtwangler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* III. 343 ff. fig. 163 and pl. 175.

iii. 593 Diomos, priest of Zeus *Polieús*, first to slay an ox. But Synkell. *chron.* 153 B (i. 289 Dindorf) says of Kekrops *οὗτος πρῶτος βοῦν ἐθυσίασε καὶ Ζῆνα προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς τινες*.

iii. 612 n. o. On the *Βαλληρίς* see also S. Weinstock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 856.

iii. 623 n. 1 with fig. 423. The design on these glass plaques is drawn (rather unsuccessfully) to a larger scale by W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 98 f. fig. 12.

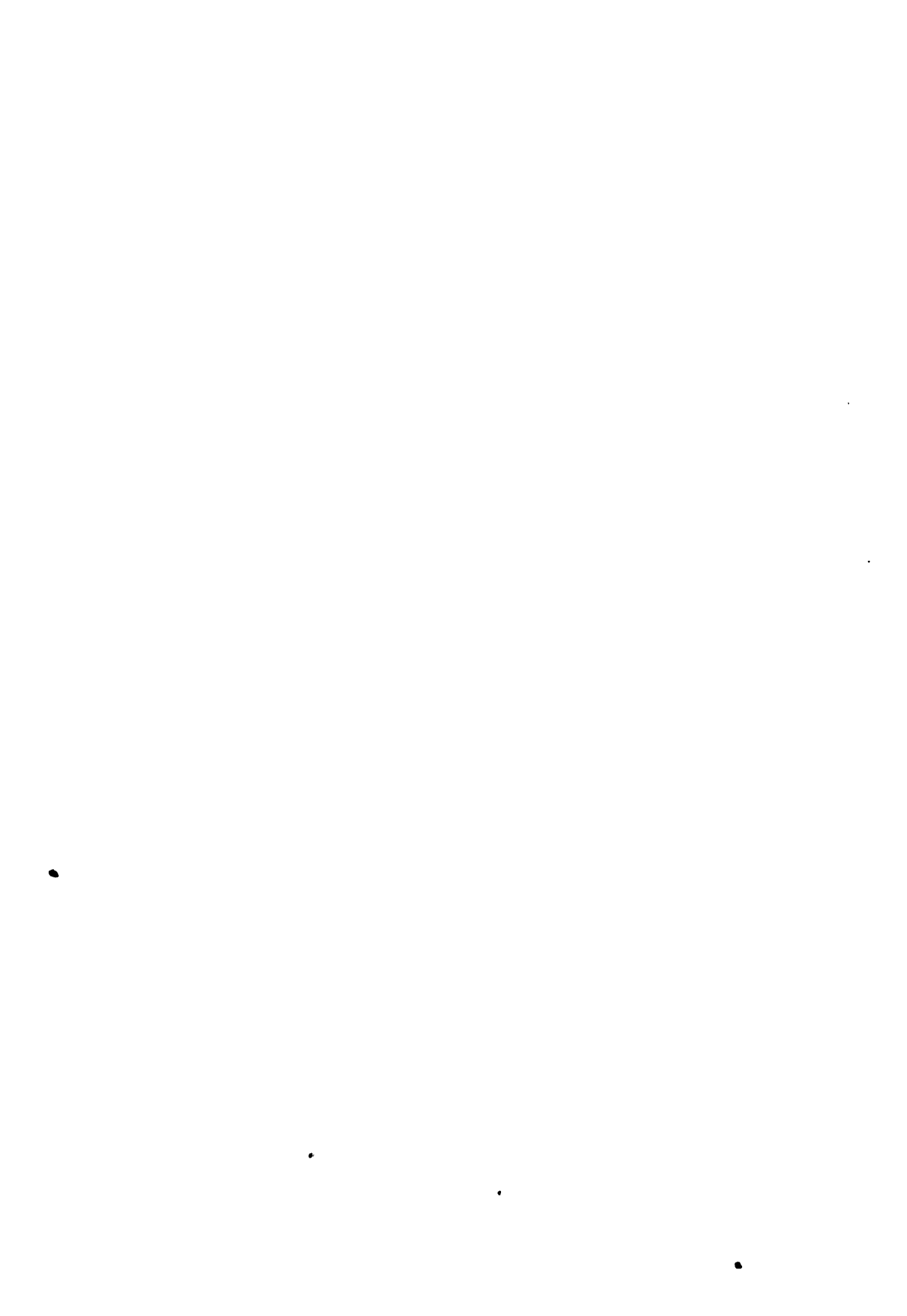
iii. 634 n. 2. E. C. Yorke in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 153 f. maintains that the *Prometheus Bound*, 'if Aeschylus was its author,' must have been the latest of his extant plays, to be dated between 458 and 456 B.C. Prof. D. S. Robertson in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1938 lxi. 387 reviews recent opinions and argues from the 'Sophoclean features' of the play for 'the latest possible date.' He even suggests that 'Aeschylus left the *Prometheus* trilogy incomplete' and that some of the odes may have been 'supplied by one of his sons, Euphorion and Euaion, or by his nephew Philocles, all tragic poets.'

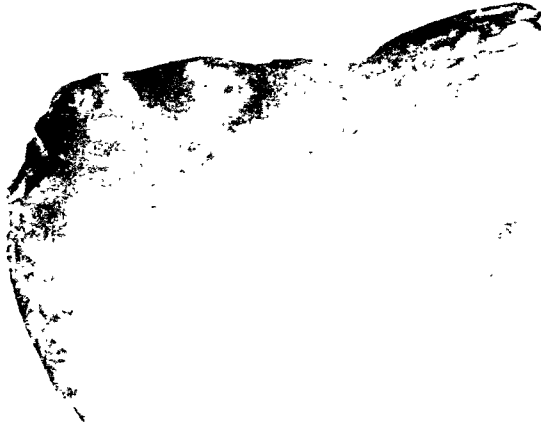
iii. 655 n. o with figs. 464—469. My conjecture that the head on these coins represents Zeus *Ólbios* can, I find, claim the support of A. Reinach, who in the *Revue*



Bronze statuette of Zeus *Olympios* from Bulgaria,
now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at Stara Zagora.

See page 1196.





b



a

Fig. 930.

Épigraphique 1913 i, 172 no. 461 anent an inscription from Lampsakos dedicated $\Theta\epsilon\omega\zeta$ 'Ολβίω observed: 'À la lumière de cette inscription il y aurait lieu de se demander si ce n'est pas Zeus Olbios à cornes de taureau qu'il faut voir sur les monnaies à tête cornue qu'on qualifie de Zeus Ammon, Pan ou Priape corniger.' Johanna Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2430.

iii. 767 ff. guardian snakes in pediment. Cp. J. Johnson 'Apotropaic serpents in Mithraea temple decoration' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 306.

iii. 813 n. 3 the cult of Athena on the Nike-bastion. P. Lemerle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 443 with figs. 4—7 reports that N. Balanos now recognises at least two successive sanctuaries below the level of the classical temple. One, the less ancient, is connected with the altar found by G. Welter (fig. 6). The other, the more ancient, included a hollowed block on which idols were lying (fig. 7) and an altar of Athena Nike mentioned in an archaic inscription [Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 671, A 11 f., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 63, a 11 f. $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\omicron\ \mu\omicron\nu\ \lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omega\nu$ ('Adiectivum indicat fuisse quidem iam antea aram, sed non lapideam'), *Inscr. Gr. ed. min.* i no. 24, 14 f.].

iii. 832 n. 2. Dr H. Frankfort's paper on 'The Burney Relief' has now appeared in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1938 xii. 128—135 accompanied by three fresh photographic illustrations. This paper, of which he most kindly sent me an offprint, conclusively vindicates the genuineness of the relief, refers it on stylistic grounds to the Larsa period, and inclines to identify the female figure as Lilith or some other 'inhabitant of the Land of Death.' Her domed crown with four horns marks her as divine. Her so-called "ring and staff" are either 'a measuring rod and line,' as on the *stèle* of Ur-Nammu, or 'on our relief they might well be a continuous coiled piece of rope,' such measuring instruments serving as symbols of justice.

iii. 845 the earliest *Gorgoneion*. F. Chapouthier 'A travers trois gemmes prismatiques (époque Minoenne [M. M. I]) in the *Mélanges G. Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 183—201 publishes a three-sided seal-stone in greyish steatite from Mallia, of which one side represents a facing *Gorgoneion* with bristling hair, large ears and eyes, wide cheeks but small mouth, and pointed chin (photographic pl. and fig. 2=J. Charbonneau in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlii. 76 fig. 3). The face is flanked by two small branches.

iii. 927 Akmon. On Doias the 'Twin'-brother of Akmon see Norbert Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 144 and 147 (after A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1907 xli. 347).

iii. 958 the temple of Zeus at Olympia struck by lightning (Paus. 5. 11. 9). C. Picard 'Zeus, Aristophane et Socrate' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1938 li. 60—63 finds an allusion to this incident in Aristoph. *nuh.* 401 f. 'Prodige favorable et pieuse intention du ciel, disaient les bons esprits! $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$: eut répliqué le Socrate d'Aristophane, introducteur de dieux nouveaux et destructeur de la tradition religieuse.' This is much better than, with V. Coulon in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1937 l. 453 f., to assume a like happening in the sanctuary of Zeus *Sotér* and Athena *Soteira* at the Peiraieus (Lykourg. in *Leocr.* 17, *alib.*—see Severin Solders *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einzigung Attikas* Lund 1931 p. 2). Picard takes the opportunity of listing all the Zeus-cults in or near Athens—a useful record.

iii. 964 copies of the Pheidias Zeus (?). Mr R. M. Cook in a letter from Athens dated Aug. 16, 1935 drew my attention to a small bronze figure of Zeus *Olympios* recently discovered in Bulgaria, and very kindly enclosed the photograph reproduced in my pl. lxxxii. He comments: 'It is a bronze statuette, found last March casually at Smero, a village a little north-east of Stara Zagora. The overall height is about 25 cm.; the height of the figure alone, 18 cm. All of the base is, I believe, original. It is not yet published, though photos of it (from the same negative as this) have appeared in a local paper & in one of the Sofia dailies. It is now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society, at Stara Zagora: the director is Mr C. Raikov.'

iii. 973 Christ in the likeness of Zeus. In the Christian appropriation of pagan statuary two methods were followed, which it might be convenient to distinguish as the outward and the inward. The one imposed some external sign of the new religion. The other sought to appreciate the internal qualities of the old. The first adapted. The second adopted. And naturally the former, as the easier process, was more frequent than the latter. The facts are fairly obvious, and I shall content myself with a single example of each.

H. Bulle in the *Einzelstudien* nos. 1436 and 1437 (=my fig. 930, a and b) Text v. 93 publishes a bearded head of Pentelic marble (height 0.23^m), which came from the neighbourhood of Athens and is now at Karlsruhe, and comments: 'Gehörte ohne Zweifel zu einer Herme.... Wohl originale Arbeit aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrh.



Marble head from Jerash :
a third century Zeus (?), which perhaps served as a fifth-century Christ.

See page 1197.



v. Chr.' Bulle ignores the incised cross, which is simply omitted also in the small sketch given by the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 5 no. 11. But A. J. B. Wace in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 65 says with more circumspection: 'Cases are known...where a cross was scratched on a work of art in early Christian times to sanctify what would otherwise have been ungodly.'

J. Garstang in *The Illustrated London News* for July 31, 1926 pp. 193—197 devotes a whole article to the interesting head found by H. Horsfield on the east side of the 'Street of Columns' at Jerash (Gerasa). For a detailed study of the site see the reports of J. W. Crowfoot 'The Church of S. Theodore at Jerash' in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1929* London pp. 17—36. *id.* 'The Churches of Gerasa, 1928, 1929' *ib.* *Quarterly Statement for 1930* London pp. 32—42. *id.* 'Recent Work round the Fountain Court at Jerash' *ib.* *Quarterly Statement for 1931* London pp. 143—154. *id.* *Churches at Jerash A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928—1930 (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers. iii)* London 1931 pp. 1—48 with 13 pls. and a plan. Garstang *loc. cit.* says: 'Between the doorway of the Basilica and that of the circular church, nearer to the former, and in the cloister into which both doors open, the head was found lying upon débris about a foot from the floor, and covered with more débris mixed with architectural remains. . . Such, briefly, is the evidence which attests that the head was in use contemporaneously with the Christian buildings of the area in which it was found.' Garstang well suggests 'that the head was originally chosen from among the earlier pagan sculptures of the place, or imported specially, as responding to a Christian conception.' He agrees 'that it belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D.' but adds somewhat inconsistently: 'One thing seems clear—that it was fashioned by a great artist who, working upon the established and familiar models of pagan Zeus or Asklepios, glorified them in the realisation of an ideal. Did such a genius exist in the fourth or fifth century at Jerash? And was that ideal the Suffering of Christ?' Accordingly the fine full-face view prefixed to his article is labelled: 'The earliest representation of Christ? . . . a remarkable sculptured Christ-like head (probably of the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.) found in a 5th-century Christian church at Jerash.' I confess that Garstang's enthusiasm leaves me a little breathless. I had the opportunity of examining the original head soon after its arrival in London (pl. lxxxiii is from the official photographs) and judged it, on stylistic grounds, to be a third-century head of Zeus. I did not think that its pathos was so pronounced as to justify us in calling it an ideal of Suffering. Indeed, the vertical furrows between the eyes, as distinct from the horizontal furrow across the forehead, were suggestive of concentrated thought rather than intense pain. I held, therefore, and still hold, that the Jerash head came from a third-century statue portraying Zeus, perhaps in his character of Providence (*supra* p. 946), a statue which may conceivably have served the fifth-century Gerasenes as an embodiment of Christ.

CORRIGENDA

- i. 13. For 'bliss' read 'bless.'
- i. 117 n. 0. For 'p. 444' read 'p. 517.'
- i. 134 n. 4. For 'Lydia' read 'Ionia.'
- i. 175 n. 2. For 'Maas' read 'Maass.'
- i. 216 n. 3. For 'Athen. 84 c ff.' read 'Athen. 456 c ff.'
- i. 220. For '*bicchos*' read '*bikchos*,' and so elsewhere (i. 221, 425, 442, 648, 649, 673).
- i. 236 n. 10. For 'Liban. *or.* ii' read 'Liban. *or.* 11.'
- i. 245. For 'daughter of Helios' read 'granddaughter of Helios.'
- i. 272. For 'man' read 'men.'
- i. 302 n. 5. Delete comma after 'Μυκῆνην.'
- i. 330. For 'Saltzmann' read 'Salzmann.'
- i. 335 n. 7. For '104' and '105' read '267' and '268.'
- i. 375. For 'Libye?' read 'Libye?.'
- i. 398 n. 4. For 'p. 92' read 'p. 311.'
- i. 474. After '*swastika*-patterns' insert 'and.'
- i. 513 n. 5. For 'fig. 113' read 'fig. 387.'
- i. 546 n. 4. For '471 n. 4.' read '471 f.'
- i. 571 n. 2. For '§ 10 (a)' read '§ 10 (b).'
- i. 591 n. 3. For 'In this' read 'In the.'
- i. 604 n. 10. For 'mother-god' read 'mother-goddess.'
- i. 646 n. 3. For '*Zān*' read '*Zān*.'
- i. 660 n. 2. For 'Strab. 476' read 'Strab. 475.'
- i. 675. For 'Kuster' read 'Kuster.'
- i. 717 n. 2. For 'E. Cumont' read 'F. Cumont.'
- i. 732 n. 1. For 'n. 2' read 'n. 1.'
- i. 768 n. 0. For '*in Alterthum*' read '*im Alterthum*.'
- i. 776. For 'millenium' read 'millennium.'
- i. 800. For 'Zeus Πελαγοναῖος' read 'Zeus Πελαγοναῖος.'
- i. 824. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
- i. 827 *s.v.* Makedonia. For 'Zeus 126 ff.' read 'Zeus 100 ff.'
- i. 837 *s.v.* Phrygia. For 'Zeus Παπίας 393₃' read 'Zeus Παπίας 399₃.'
- i. 842 *s.v.* Seimios. For '533 f.' read '553 f.'
- i. 855 *s.v.* Zeus *nursed by*. For 'by goat 112₂ 112₃' and '720₄' read 'by goat 112₃' and '720₃.'
- i. 856 *s.v.* Zeus *Attributes*. For 'blue mantle 331' read 'blue mantle 33.'
- i. 867 *s.v.* Fick, A. For '690₄' read '690₅.'
- i. 867 *s.v.* Fire. For 'Zeus 702₆' read 'Zeus 702₁.'
- i. 870 *s.v.* Heydemann, H. For '698₁' read '698₄.'
- i. 870 *s.v.* Hill, G. F. For '356₂' read '356₄' and for '602₄' read '602₅.'
- i. 875 *s.v.* Nilsson, M. P. For '669₃' read '669₈.'
- i. 879 *s.v.* Rolland, E. For '357₃' read '257₃.'
- i. 882. For 'Svoronos, J. H. (*cont.*)' read 'Svoronos, J. N. (*cont.*)'
- ii. 864. For 'nforms' read 'informs.'
- ii. 1093 n. 1. For '*recques*' read '*grecques*.'
- ii. 1096 n. 4. For 'μοιούμενον' read 'ὁμοιούμενον.'
- ii. 1113 n. 0. For 'ὀνομάζοντες' read 'ὀνομάζοντας.'

- ii. 1323 s.v. Syria. The last entry 'Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.' should have been s.v. Syra.
- ii. 1361 s.v. Eitrem, S. For '1042₁₁' read '1142₁₁.'
- iii. 57 n. 2. For 'ὀρνιθογονίας β' read 'ὀρνιθογονίας β'.'
- iii. 79. For 'Man said' read 'Men said.'
- iii. 104 n. 1. For 'n. 3' read 'n. 4.'
- iii. 360 n. 4. For 'vi. 2089' read 'iv. 2089.'
- iii. 400 n. 2. For 'Gábrici' read 'Gábrict,' and so on p. xxi of vol. II.
- iii. 416 n. 0. For 'Tetz.' read 'Tzett.'
- iii. 518 n. 3. For 'être à' read 'être là'
- iii. 775. For '(fig.)' read '(fig. 569).'
- iii. 976. For 'Brugman' read 'Brugmann,' and so on p. 977.
- iii. 981. For 'pl. lxx' read 'pl. lxx.'



Fig. 931.

Zeus Tríois
on a bronze coin of Hieta-
polis in Phrygia
(Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*
p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22).
Supra II. 571 n. 6.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Worshippers Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, gs. = grandson, gd. = granddaughter, h. = husband, w. = wife.

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— bibliography of 1191 chalice from
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Antiochos I of Kommagene

Epithets: Θεός Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανής 951

Personates Zeus Ὠρομάσδης 951 (?)

Antiope

Myth: consorts with Zeus 467 469 615₃

Type: pendant to Danae 46₉

Antipas, St 1102

Antiphilos, the painter 627₀

Antisthenes 595

Antoninus Pius

Personates Zeus 1130

Αonia 531

Aos 512 See also Heos (Eos)

Apameia in Phrygia

Cult: Poseidon 22

Festival: Kibotoi 530 (?)

— coins of 293₂ 528 f. 530 named
Kibotos 530

Apeliotes 130

Apelles 297

Apesas, Mt

Cults: Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος 1165 Zeus
Ἀφέσιος 1165

Aphrodisias in Karia

Cult: Zeus Πατρόσιος (= Augustus) 1191

— coins of 1148

Aphrodisias in Kilikia, coins of 763₂ (?)

Aphrodite

Cults: Argos 320₁ Askalon 154 Athens:
170₀ 171₀ 722 725 f. 726 Athmonia
or Athmonon 53₅ Mt Eryx 172 ff.
Gaza 553 Ioulis 269₁ Cape Kolias
172 Megalopolis 567₀ Paphos 238₁
1112 1134 Samos 66₂ Saracens 915₂
Sparta 722₃ Thessaly 271 (?)

Epithets: ἀναδουμένη 297 ἐν Ἑλαί 66₂
ἐν Καλαίους 66₂ ἐν Κήποις 165 168

Aphrodite (cont.)

169₀ 171 174₀ 722 726 Ἐνόπιος 722₃

Ἐρυκίνη 175₂ καλή 1073 Κτήσυλλα

269₁ Μαχανίτις 567₀ Οὐρανια 55₅ 152₆

153 f. 171₀ 722 Παφία 899₅ 1134

Χαβάρ (Χαμάρ) 915₂ 915₃ 917₇

Rite: sacrifice of heifer 171₀

Priestesses: ἱερόδουλοι 177₀

Personated by woman on ladder (?) 1118

Myths: springs from seed of Ouranos

274 springs from seed of Zeus 274

is borne by dolphin to Kypros 274

plants pomegranate in Kypros 817₀

sleeps with Hephaistos 175₂ trans-

forms Melos the Delian into μηλέα

and Pelias into πέλεκια 817₀

Genealogy: eldest of the Moirai 171₀

m. of Eryx by Boutas or by Poseidon

176₀

Functions: mountain-mother 177₀

unites Sky with Earth 453 morning

dew 172 vegetation 175₂

Etymology: 274₆ 275₃ 276₀

Attributes: bud 1060 dove 175₂ 638₀

1057 doves 1112 flower 1060 mirror

94₀

Types: acrolithic ράδιον 567₀ Alka-

menes 171₀ (?) 722₃ Capuan 173₀

Cnidian 970 cone 650₉ crouching

561 Damophon 567₀ Doidalses 471

draped and veiled 681 draped and

flanked by two hovering Eroses 1018

draped and flanked by two winged

female figures (Nikai?) 1016 ff.

drawn by sparrows 831 drawn by

swans 831₂ Fréjus 171₁ 173₀ (?) herm

171₀ 722 holding pomegranate 818₀ (?)

in archaic reliefs of the Twelve

Gods 1055 ff. leaning on archaic

effigy of herself 171₀ leaning on

pillar with tree in background 171₀

Melian 171₀, nude 834 nude goddess

flanked by two Sirens 1016 nude

goddess pressing her breast with

dove or doves flying about her 1016

Pheidias 698 698₆ riding on goat

831 rising from sea 957 f. semi-

draped 698₆ standing with dove on

finger 638₀ with Eros at her shoulder

1022 with uplifted sandal 1020

stepping on to boat 137₄

Identified with Astarte 177₀ (?)

Associated with Ares 681 Eros 170₀

700 (?) 704 725 f. 746 Elyx 176₀

Poseidon 675₂ 699 f.

Compared with ψυχή 747₂

In relation to Astarte 275₀(2) 276₀ coot

52₁ dove 275₀(1) (?) Moirai 722

— meadows of 1064₄

Aphros, forefather of Aphroi

Genealogy: f. of Aphrodite by Astynome

276₁ s. of Kronos by Philyra 276₁

Apidanos 366

Apis

Types: bovine bust with solar disk

- Apis (cont.)**
 between horns and lunar crescent
 round neck 1082 double bust (with
 Isis) 1132
- Apollo**
Cult. Rome 436₀
Epithet: *pastoralis* 268₁
Type: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve
 Gods 1062₂₍₁₊₎
 See also Apollon
- Apollodoros** the mythographer 1103 f.
- Apollon**
Cults: Amyklai 1109 f. Anaphe 570₂
 Athens 725 Bulla Regia 825₆ Chembis
 983 Delos 119 984 f. Dreros 1087
 Ephesos 1174 Gaza 553 Gryneion
 100 Hybla 1029 Hyperboreoi 106₁
 Karthaiia 269₁ Kaulonia 830 Klaros
 100 Korkyra 1120 Leukas 137₄
 Miletos 474₀ Peiraiæus 1083 Selinous
 614₅ Tenedos 1146 Thebes in
 Boiotia 507₅, 880 Thespiæi 1070 Vari
 261 265₀
Epithets: 'Αργεῖς 267 'Αργιεύς 1120
 'Ασγελάτας 570₂ Γαλάξιος (?) 880₁
 Δελφίνιος 1087 'Εοιφάλλιος (? 'Ερι-
 φυλλος) 321₀ 'Ερπρος 261 'Ισμήνιος 507₅
 880 Κάρνειος 996 Καρνεῖος 1078
 Λατῶος 1047₁₁ Λευκάτης 137₄ Λύκιος
 353₄ Ναπαῖος 100₆(?) Νόμιος 265₀ 267
 δαβισεργός 630₅ δαβιος 630₅ Πυθαῖος (?)
 1120 Πύθιος 725 Σκυλακεύς 413₀(?)
 Φίλιος (= Φιλήσιος) 474₀ Χαλάξιος 880
Oracles: Delphoi 100₁ Gryneion 100
 Klaros 100
Rite: sacrifice of asses 106₁
Priestess: the *Pythia* 100 (?) 1122
Myths: is born in Delos 984 f. is hidden
 by Leto in Chembis 983 f. borrows
aigis of Zeus 314₃ wears *aigis* 866
 wraps *aigis* round Hektor 866
 rescues Aineias from Diomedes 103
 steals Delphic tripod 799₁ visits
 Lesbian oracle of Orpheus 99 ff.
 woos Thetis 742 Branchos 474₀
 Kroisos 519 f.
- Genealogy:* s. of Zeus by Leto, and b.
 of Artemis 744₁₍₆₎ s. of Dionysos by
 Isis, and b. of Artemis 984 f. of
 Kydon by Akakallis d. of Minos
 414₀ f. of Miletos by Akakallis d. of
 Minos 414₀
- Functions:* hail 880 sun 120₆ 726₆
 welfare 630₅
- Etymology:* 1135 (?) 1136
- Attributes:* apple (?) 1136 bay-branch
 99 bay-wreath 99 bow and arrow
 675 hawk 1073 *kithára* and *pléktron*
 683 684 swan 757₀
- Types:* square pillar inscribed KAPN-
 BIOUS 996 first wooden statue 119
 holding double axe 1146 nude,
 archaic, advancing to right with
 filleted bay-branch and strung bow
 1164 with Charites in right hand
- Apollon (cont.)**
 1124 with hawk on head 46 Kassel
 1155 Pheidias (?) 1155 *kutharoidós*
 707 ff. 725 contest with Marsyas
 659₀ 710 slaying Niobids 955 riding
 on swan 831 1136 in car drawn by
 swans 830 f. in archaistic reliefs of
 the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.
Identified with Aristaios 267 f. Horos
 984
Associated with Artemis 707 958 Zeus
 Βροντῶν 1160 f. Zeus Πατρώος 1174
Compared with meteor 885
Supersedes Dionysos 1125
 — *provenance* of 1135 1137
- Apollonia** ad Rhyndacum, coins of 856₀
- Apolloniastai** 155
- Apollonios** of Tyana greets Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 961
- Apulia**
Myth: Daunus 364
- Apulu** 88₀
- Apulum**
Cult: Jupiter *Optimus Bussumarus* 1140
 Jupiter *Optimus Maximus Bussumarus* 1140
- Aquae Albulæ** 1013
- Aquae Cutiliæ**, floating island in 1012 f.
 sacred to Victory (*sc. Vacuna*) 1012
- Aquae Salsulæ**, floating island in 1015
- Aquae Sulis**
Cults: Luna 863₁₁ Sol 863₁₁ Sulis 858 ff.
 — bronze head from 862 large pedi-
 mental relief from 862 ff. smaller
 pedimental reliefs from 863₁₁ some-
 times called *Aquae Solis* 863
- Aquileia** in Venetia, mosaic from 627₍₃₎
- Aquilo** 107 162₅
- Arabia**
Cults: Aisu 1163 Hobal 334₁ Manāf
 1163 Morning Star 915₂
Myth: *Kalila and Dimna* 405₀
- Arachova** 335₁
- Arados**
Cult: 'Dagon' 126₄
 — coins of 150₀
- Arantides**
Cult: Illyrioi (?) 1184
- Ararat**, Mt 530₇ 531₀
- Aratos**, the exordium of 947 953 f. 974
 quoted by St Paul 954
- Arcadian League**, coins of 715₀
- Arcadians** called *προσέληνοι* 315₀
 — claim to have seen Zeus shake the
aigis 314
- Archelaos** of Priene 37 1070
- Archilochos** on rights and wrongs of
 animals 949
- Ardea** 365
- Arelate**, stag-mummers at 1067
- Ares**
Cults: Makedonia 282₆ Papremis 344₃
Epithet: Θαύλλος (?) or Θαῦλος 282₆
Genealogy: s. of Zeus 344₃ s. of Zeus
 by Hera, and b. of Hebe and

Ares (cont.)

Eileithyia 744₁₍₇₎ h. of Agraulos 283₅

Functions: originally more than war-god 283₅ (?) fire in air 235₇

Attribute: hound 683

Type: in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

Associated with Aphrodite 681

Arethousa 515₁

Argaios, Mt, as object of worship 1068 ascent of 1176 image of, as head-dress 1177 image of, in hand of Zeus 1177 small bronze eagle on pillar representing (?) 1177 small bronze eagle on stag representing (?) 1177 small bronze model of 1177

Arge 1172

Argo 778₁ 779₀ 975

Argonauts, found Amphiphorites (Ἀμφοριτης ἀγών) at Aigina 603₁₂ historical element in myth of 360₈ sent past Planktai by Hera 975 warned of Kyaneai by Phineus 976

Argos

Cults: Aphrodite 320₄ Athena Ὀξυδερκής 785₁ Athena Σάλαργις 729₂ Demeter Πελασγίς 417₀ Hellotis 1092 Hera 65 566₂ 1043 ff. 1085 Hera Βασίλεια 66 Hera Εἰλειθία 725₄ Zeus Ἐρκεῖος 455 Zeus Μηχανεύς 142₈ 566₂ Zeus Ὀλβίος 631 Zeus Ἰέρειος 563

Epithets: ἀνύδρον 361_{8f} 368 διψίαν.. χθόνα 361 πολυδίψον 361 368

Festival: Hysteria 320₄

Rites: ἱερὸς γάμος 1044 ff. initiation 1046 Λεχέρρα 1044 women present veil to Hera 1046

Myths: Akrisios 364 Danaos and the Danaïdes 355 ff. irrigation by Danaos or the Danaïdes 361 f. Io 631 ff. Kleobis and Biton 1044 Polyneikes 563 Poseidon contends with Hera 751₁ Tyrsenos discovers trumpet 729₃

— early kings of 67₂ after the peace of Nikias 62 f. Amymonian Waters at 361 archaic bronze vessel at 566₂ bones of Tantalos at 417₀ (?) bronze chamber of Danae at 455 coins of 355₄ 471 Hellotian at 1092 Heraion at 633₀ tomb of Pelasgos at 566₂ relief of Selene from 1085 f.

Argos, watcher of Io

Attribute. bull's hide 837

Types: with eye on his chest 631₄ covered with eyes 633₀ wearing ox-hide cape 634₁ wearing panther-skin 638₀

Ariatha 1090

Aristaios

Cults: Arkadia 268 Keos 267 f.

Myths: builds altar to Zeus Ἰκμάιος 266 sacrifices to Seirios 266 saves Keos from drought 266 Sardinia 270

Aristaios (cont.)

Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Kyrene and f. of Aktaion 266₃ f. of Charmos and Kallikarpos 270

Functions: culture-hero 266 f. king embodying sky-god 269

Type: Zeus-like head 270 f.

Identified with Apollo *Agreüs* and *Nómios* 267 f. Zeus 270 Zeus *Aristaios* 267 f.

Aristoteles, false reading for Aristokles (?) 1043₄

Aristotle 482 f.

Arkadia

Cults: Aristaios 268 Zeus Λύκατος 525

Rite: priest of Zeus Λύκατος makes rain by stirring the spring Hagno with oak-branch 315

Arkalochori Cave near Lyktos, perhaps the famous cave of Zeus and Rhea 1143 treasure from 1143

Arkesilaos, the sculptor 1022

Arkesine, coins of 820₂

Armenia

Cult: Astik 293₂

Festival: Vartevar 293

Rite: pigeons set free 293

Armenios 946

Arnouphis 325 f. 332

Arrhaphoria 165 ff. 179 188 236 240 f. 602

Arrhetophoria 165; (?) 166₀

Arsu 1163

Artemidos, St 269

Artemis

Cults: Agra 725 Athens 1181 Bithynia

992 f. Boiotia 990 Ephesos 896₂ 968

Gygaia Limne 989 Ioulis 269

Messene 66₂ Olympia 1009 Palaio-

polis in Korkyra 844₁₀ Patmos 986

Sardeis 1082 Sparta 1009 1030

Epithets: Ἄγροτέρα 725 Ἀλφειονία 671₀

Ἀμαρνώια 55₅ Ἀναίτις 899₅₍₃₎ Ἀρίστη

268; γαῖόχοος 10₄ διοτρεφής 34₂ (?)

Ἐλεία 66₂ Ἐλευθερα 899₅₍₂₎ Ἐροδία

279₄ Ἐφεσία 324₅ 899₅ 900 1133

1134 Ἐροσία 1083 Καλλιστη 268₀

1124 1181 Κολοννή 989 Κορδάκα 1009

Λυγοδέσμα 1030 f. 1031₅ Μουνυχία

233₁ Ὀρθία 1009 1030 1031₅ 1134

Παγαστίς 1083 Παρθένος 986 Παρμία

986 Περσία 565₁ Σαλακίτις 413₀

Ταυροπόλος 624₀ 636₀

Rites: ἀρκτεῖσασα 1083 νεβρεία (?) 1083

παρθένεια 1008 sacrifice of she-goat

in girl's clothing to Artemis Μουνυ-

χία 233₁

Priestesses: νεβροί (?) 1083

Myth: is born in Delos 985

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Leto, and st.

of Apollon 744₁₍₇₎ d. of Dionysos by

Isis, and st. of Apollon 984

Functions: childbirth 985 moon 726₆

Attributes: bow 638₀ 725 fawn 640₀ fish

990 two jars 1181 torch 1181 wheel-

torch 638₀

Artemis (*cont.*)

- Types*: cult-statue with veil 899₅₍₂₁₎
 Endoios 968 hastening to greet the new-born Athena (?) 710 f. 'Colonna' 710 f. riding horned doe 831 slaying Niobids 955 standing with wheel-torch and bow 638₀ in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.
Identified with Bendis 189₁ 233₁ Boubastis 984 Diktyнна 189₁ Oupis 189₁
Associated with Apollon 707 958
In relation to stags 1134
Superseded by St John the Evangelist 986
 — birthday of 178₀ fawns of 1064₁ two images of, on coin of Aspendos 899₅₍₁₎
 Artemision. bronze statue fished up from sea off 1151 ff.
 Ascension Day 1193
 Asia
Etymology 1107
 Asies, nephew or brother of Atys 1107
 Asine, 'Mycenaean' finds at 1192
 Asis
Cult: Euyuk 1106 f.
 Askalon
Cult: Aphrodite Οἰπᾶννῖα 154
 Asklepios
Cults: Alipheia 126₅ Athens 775 Epidaurus 1182 Inonu in Phrygia 1146 Nikaia in Bithynia 1182 Pautalia 1182 Sparta 1030₁
Epithet Ἀγνῖτας 1030₁
Metamorphosed into snake 1182
Etymology: 1182 (?)
Type holding serpent-staff and borne through air by winged and bearded snake 1182
 Aspalis 283₄
 Aspasia
Epithet Τῖρᾶννος (?) οἱ Τῖρᾶννοδαίων (?) 664
Personates Hera 325 664
 Aspendos, coin of 899₅₍₁₎
 Aspis ἐν Ἀργεῖ 356₅
 As-teas 511₀
 Assyria, demons of, influence Etruscan conception of Chaon 1143
 Assyrioi (= ΣΥΡΙΟΙ)
Cult: dove 1103
 Asteroth, *kteis* of (?) 918₃
 Astarte
Cults: Delos 152₆ 153 f. Sidon 1023 Tyre 892 f.
Epithet Παλαστίνη 152₆ 153 f.
Myth finds fallen star 892 917
Functions: moon 892₄ the planet Venus 892₄
Type. nude goddess 834
Identified with Aphrodite 177₀ (?)
In relation to Aphrodite 275₀₍₂₎ 276₀
 — *kteis* of (?) 918₃
 Asteria, name of Delos 984 f.

Asterie, Titaness

- Myth*: Zeus 984 f.
Metamorphosed into quail 985 stone 985
 Asterion 619₁ 628₀
 Asteropos 1067
 Astlik 293₂
 Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes
Cult: Zeus Ἀραβύπος 1172
 — excavations on 1172 See also Atabyros, Mt
 Atabyros, Mt, in Rhodes, geology of 986
 See also Atabyrion, Mt
 Atargatis
Cults Heliopolis in Syria 1095 Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1093
Attribute: lions (?) 1096
Types: bust with fish-scales (?) on face and chest 1097 bust with two fishes as head-dress 1097
 Athamas
Myth: Nephele 73 f.
 Athanasia 605₍₃₎
 Athanasios, St 1187
 Athena
Cults: Alipheia 126₅ Argos 729₃ 785₁ Athens 749 f. 827₈ 859₁ Ausees 128₁ Boiotia 608 820₁ Corinth 1092 Crete 126₄ (?) Eli 224 f. Eme-sa 888 Hephaestia in Lemnos 216₁ Ilion 283₄ Korone 782 Kos 566₂ Mt Kynthos 1172 Lakonike 776 Libye 128₁ 839 Marathon 1092 Megalopolis 567₀ Megara 782 f. Olympia 967 Oxyrhynchite nome 190₆ Peiraeus 659₀ 1196 Pelasgians 226 Pella 869 Pergamon 794 872 Plataiai 773₆ Rhodes 355 Salamis in Kyrios 653₀ Sparta 11₁ 661 Syracuse 850₆ Tanagra 567₀ Tegea 1141 Thespiai 1066 Thessaly 608 871₁ Troy 193₀
Epithets: ἀγλαΐσιμε 776₁ Ἀγλαΐρος 240₆ 246 Αἴθια 608₄ 782 f. 795 αἰολόμορφε 776₁ Ἄλεια 1141 Ἀλλοῖδος (not Ἄλλαις) 869 Ἀρεία 773₆ Ἀρχήγετις 827₈ Βαλενίκη 605₍₄₎ Βία 608₃ Βοαρμία 608 Βούδεια 608 γλαυκῶπις 193₀ (?) 201₃ 781 834 844 Γοργοπέγκος 836 (See Panagia *Epithets*) Γοργῶπις 189₁ γοργῶπις 844 δράκαινα 776₁ δύναμις τοῦ Διὸς 873₂ Ἐγκέλαδος Ἰῶς Ἐλλωτίς 1092 Ἐργάνη 191₈ 795 967 εὐώδων 763₄ (?) Ζωστειρία 567₀ Ἥφαιστια 216 218 1047₁₁ θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγίόχοιο 866₇ Ἰππία 13₀ Ἰωνία 820₁ 871₁ Κόρη 608₄ κοῖρη Διὸς αἰγίόχοιο 866₇ Κυθία 1172 Λινδία 355 Μαχανίς 566₂ Μαχανίτις 567₀ Μήτηρ 225₁ 749 835 Μόριος 762 Νίαη 811 813 1196 Νικηφόρος 794 ὀβριμοπάτηρ 737₈ Οἰάνθη 184₃ (?) Ὀμοκωίς (at Thebes in Boiotia) 608₃ Ὀξυδερκής 785₁ Παλλάς 201₂ 573 743₀ Πάνδροσος 246 Παρεία 776 Παρθένος 573 749 823 1155 Πολιάς 213 244 573₄ 614 721 749 758 772₄ 813 Πολιοῦχος 771

Athena (cont.)

Πρόναϊα 727₃ Πρόνοια 727₃ Σάλλιγιξ 729₃ Σώπειρα 659₀ 1196 Τριτογένεια 123₃ 719 f. 726 Τριτογενής 123₇ Τριτωνίς 126₀ 726 Τγγεια 614₅ 775 859₁ φιλένθεος 776₁ Χαλκίικος 11₁ 661

Festivals: Athenaia 212 f. Chalkeia 211 ff. Panathenaia 720 Plynteria 224₃ 749 Tritomenis 719₄

Rites: annual fight of maidens among Auseses 128₁ annual washing of Argive image in Inachos 224₃ 749 bull-hanging at Iliion 283₄ *ιερός γάμος* 224₃ liturgy of Pallas' snake 775 *πέπλος* woven at Chalkeia 212 priestess with *aigis* visits newly married couple 22₃ sacrifice of ox 782₄ sacrifice of ram 782₄ sacrifice of sow 225₁

Priestesses: Ἀρηφόροι 165 ff. 212 Aug₁ 823 drawn from Bouzygai 609

Personated by finest virgin of Auseses 128₁ priestesses 225₂

Myths: birth from head of Zeus 477 657 ff. 737 744 birth at Athens 720 birth in Crete from cloud cleft by Zeus 727 birth beside river Triton 125 743, is wooed by Hephaistos 218 ff. 236 274 734 slays the monster Aigis and uses its skin as breastplate 839 slays the Gorgon and wears its skin 844 flays Pallas the Giant, who had attempted to violate her, and wears his skin and wings 842 adorns woman 201 at Ikonion makes images of clay 528 brings Kekrops to Megara 783 809 f. (?) entrusts Erichthonios to the Kekropides 238 ff. carries Lykabettos 238 plants olive-tree at Athens 750 f. contest with Gorgon about beauty 850₈ contest with Poseidon about Athens 750 ff. contest with Poseidon about Trozen 751₁ gives *πέπλος* to Herakles 1186 helps Herakles in rape of Delphic tripod 799, helps Herakles against Hydra 797 cuts spear for Peleus 209₂ superintends building of Argo 778₁ 779₀ nurses Bakchos or Iakchos 225₁ would bestow immortality on Tydeus 605₍₃₎

Genealogy: d. of Bronteaes 605₍₄₎ d. of Pallas the Giant by Titanis d. of Okeanos 842 d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis 216 d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis, later adopted by Zeus 128₁

Functions: goddess of the Akropolis at Athens 189 837 originally Pelagian mountain-mother in Asia Minor 236 736 831 originally mother-goddess, later virgin 737 749 originally wife of Hephaistos 200 223 736 867 mountain-mother 224 246 729₃ 748 831 866 earth-goddess 200₀ 246

Athena (cont.)

pottery 191₈ arts and crafts 201 women's handiwork 795 nurse of children 225₁ wisdom 726 727₃ 728 *athér* 726₆ 727 728 clouds 729 dawn 728 (?) morning twilight 728 (?) earthquake 3₀ keeper of the thunderbolt 867 second self of Zeus 872 f. sneeze of Zeus 662₁ (?) 732 (?)

Etymology. 605₍₃₎ 191₈ 726 727 727₃ 728 839₂ (?)

Attributes: *aigis* 837 ff. 866 f. chariot drawn by four winged horses 807 double axe 190₆ *Gorgóneion* 837 ff. Gorgon-shield 39 helmet 811 ff. winged helmet 820₂ olive-tree 190 749 ff. owl 190 558 776 ff. pillar 190 763₂ pomegranate 811 ff. snakes 189 f 764 ff.

Types: primitive pre-warlike 189₁ advancing to left with thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield 868 f. 871 f. advancing to right with thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield 869 advancing to right with spear and shield 869 ff. advancing with uplifted lance 573 Alban 837₉ 857 archaistic 225₁ 837₉ 868 ff. in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. bearing dead warrior across sea 809 f. bearing infant on her arm 218 806 bearing snake in basket 218 Bronze Athena by Pheidias 225₁ 862 Cassel 837, 858 clay vessel as fetush and symbol 191₈ cock with human face wearing skin of cock's head as helmet 804 cult-statue in Erechtheion 574₀ cult-statue in Peisi-stratic Hekatompedon 574₀ Elgin statuette 830 emergent from head of Zeus 662 f. 668 ff. exhibiting olive-plant 755 762 f. fighting on Ionic column 1006 fulminant 793₂ 868 ff. grouped with Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion 213 ff. gull 783 hasting to right in full armour 659 694 ff. hawk 781 holding corn-ears 607 holding erow 782 782₃ holding double axe 867₅ holding helmet in hand 686 687 human-headed bird wearing helmet 801 in chariot drawn by two owls 830 in chariot drawn by two snakes 769 f. 831 kite or shearwater 781 Lanekoronski relief 830 Lansdowne relief 779₀ 'Lemnia' 211 216₁ 858 Lenormant 773₆ letting owl fly 830 nude (?) 868₅ ornithomorphic passing into anthropomorphic 794 ornithomorphic, semi-ornithomorphic, anthropomorphic in combination 799 799₁ *ορθότατος* 225₁ owl 781 784 ff. 837 owl as spinner 795 owl with human helmeted head 801 ff. 'Palladion' 573₁ 609 1006 *Parthénos* 211 868₅ 933 *Parthénos* with olive

Athena (*cont.*)

- instead of pillar 763₂ Pheidias 933
(See also Bronze Athena. Lansdowne relief, 'Lemnia', Lenormant, *Pai-thénos*, Varvakeion) pigeon 781
pur-ued by Hephaistos 220 f. rising from head of Zeus 612 669 673 ff.
688 seated and weaponless 574₀
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Genealogy: m. of Eileithyia 711 725
1032₃ m. of Hephaistos 235₂ m. of
Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia by Zeus
744₁₍₇₎ m. of Herakles by Zeus
92₀ (?)

Functions: not *ab intuo* the wife of
Zeus 744₁ 1025 1065 marriage-
goddess 948₁₆ 1042 1060₇ *aēr* 726₆
1046₅ cloud (?) 7₁ rain (?) 75₁

Attributes. Charites 65 Horai 65 sceptre
65 816₀ 1039 f. 1048₄ cuckoo-sceptre
65 67 1044 lily-sceptre 92₀ *stepháne*
67 1039 f. floral *stepháne* 92₀ rayed
stepháne 1041 veil 636₀ 1033 1039 f.
1057 1060 star-spangled veil 1040
wedding-ring 1033 willow-wreath
1053 (?) lily 92₀ pomegranate 65
816₀ 1043 lion 67₅ panther 67

Hera (cont.)

Types: pillar 1085 on pillar 638₀
Athenis and Boupalos 969 Smilis
1027 Polykleitos 65 816₀ 1043 f.
Praxiteles (?) 932 f. Ludovisi 1117
obscene (?) 1027₅ enthroned 67 f.
seated on rock 701 seated beside
Zeus as bride and bridegroom 1027 f.
seated with Zeus seated before her
1048 seated with Zeus seated beside
her 1048 f. seated with Zeus seated
en échelon 1053 seated with Zeus
seated facing her 1049 ff. seated
with Zeus standing before her 687
in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve
Gods 1055 ff. veiled 1045 virgin
seated on lion (*Iuno Caelestis*) 1045
Associated with Hebe 704 1048₄ Leto
1042 Zeus 745 958 1025 ff.

In relation to Herakles 1045₃ Zeus 633₀,
1025 ff.

Supersedes Eileithyia 685₂ Leto 1042
— couch of 1044 1044₄ garden of
1064

Herakleia in Lucania, coins of 714₈ 794 820₂

Herakleides Pontikos, pretends on his
death-bed to become a snake 773₁

Herakleitos 234 1046₁

Herakles

Cults: Diomeia 594 724 Gadeira 983
Kynosarges 724 Mt Kynthos 1172
Sebastopolis (Herakleopolis) 408₀
Tyre 892 f. 978

Epithets: 'Αλεξίκακε 508₃ ἀναξ πύρος.
δραχε κόσμου. | 'Hέλιε, κ.τ.λ. 893₁
'Αστροχίτων 892 f. 978 'Ηραϊος 216₁
1047₁₁ τριέσπερος 508₃ 509₀ τρισέληνος
508₃ 509₀ Χαροφί 1165

Myths: simulated birth from Hera 89₁
suckled by Hera 89₁ 92₀ 94₀ as infant
strangles snakes 767₂ Atlas 956
Auge 823 Delphic tripod 409₀ 799₁
Hesperides 1019 Hydra 795 ff.
Kerberos 408₀ Nemean lion 956
Periklymenos 744₁ Prometheus 956
Virtue (Athena) and Vice (Aphro-
dite) 839 pyre on Mt Oite 512 ff.

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Alkmene
w. of Amphitryon 506 s. of Zeus by
Hera 92₀ (?) s. of Uni (*Iuno*) 92₀ f. of
Tyrsenos by the Lydian woman
(*Omphale*) 729₃ ancestor of
Ptolemies 1172

Attribute. lion-skin 841₁

Types: double bust (with Hermes)
1132 dragging off two-headed
Kerberos 399 dragging off three-
headed Kerberos 402 f. feasting in
Olympos 724₀ fighting Amazons 955
fighting Centaur (?) 1142 'Lans-
downe' 704₉ recumbent 714 robbed
of weapons by Eros 1019 with Eros
on his shoulder 1019 f.

*Identified with Engonasin or Ingeni-
culus* 489 ff. Melqarth 893

Herakles (*cont.*)

Associated with Athena 958 Hebe 704
707 724 f.

In relation to Hera 1045₃ Iphikles 506
sea-gull 52₃

— emerald *stèle* of 892 initiation of
724₀ 724₁ pillars of 978 983
provenance of 1136

Hercle 92₀ 839 1090

Herculeanum, silver buckle from 755

Hercules

Cults: Nikaia in Liguria 492₁ Numidia
1078

Epithets: *Lupidarius* 492₁ *Saxanus* 492₁

Personated by Commodus 1100

Myth: birth delayed by Lucina 663₂

Function: quarries 492₁

Types: in Pompeian painting of Twelve
Gods 1062₂₍₂₎ in silver shrine 1155

— table of 1044₁

Hercules, the constellation 491

Herkyna

Cult: Lebadeia 1182

Hermaistai 155

Hermes

Cults: Amos in Thrace 1137 Athens
725 Heliopolis in Syria 1093 Kyllene

725₅ Lydo-Phyrgians 283₄ Peiraeus
1083 Pelasgians 191₀ Sedasa 1071

Epithets: *Ἄεριος* 325₂ 323 *αιθέριον*
δρόμον εἰλισσών ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης
332₃ *Ἀργεῖφόντης* 1132 *διάκτορος* 498₀
ἐνκάρδιε 332₃ *ἐριούσιος* 181₁ *Ἐριφύλλ-*
ιος (? *Ἐριφύλλος*) 321₀ *ἐριχθόνιος*
181₁ *Κανθαύλας* 283₄ 416₀ *κοσμοκράτ-*
ωρ 332₃ *κύκλε σελήνης* 332₃ *Κελλήριος*
671₃ 675 *Κυράγκης* 283₄ 416₀ *λόγων*
ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης 332₃ *Μαιαδείης*
1131 *Μέγιστος* 1071 *μηχανιώτης* 94₂
567₀ *παντοκράτωρ* 332₃ *πειθοδικαῖος*
332₃ *Περφεραῖος* 1137 *πνεύματος*
ἡνίοχε 332₃ *πηνηροπέδιλε* 332₃ *σπαρ-*
γανιώτης 94₂ *στρουγύλε καὶ τετραγώνε*
332₃ *Τρισμέγιστος* 332₃ *Φαλανθης*
(? *Φαλανθεῖς*) 321₀ *Χθόνιος* 181₁ 604₂
χλαυδοθήφορε 332₃ *ψυχοπομπός* 332₃

Rite: at Chytroi 604₂

Personated by high-priest at Olba 654₀

Myths: born on Mt Kerykion 417₀
cleaves head of Zeus 661 attends

birth of Dionysos 80₂₍₃₎ 83₄₍₁₎ 85₀₍₂₎

Genealogy: s. of Maia 1131 f. of
Kephalos by Herse 246 f. of Keryx
by Aglauros or Pandrose (Pandrosos)
602 f. f. of Tat 332₃

Etymology: 411₀ (?)

Attributes: *caduceus* 675 eagle 1071
goat 1060 winged *pétasos* 39 purse
1082

Types: *phallós* 725₅ *xóanon* 725₅
bearded 1060₁ double bust (with
Herakles) 1132 Lysippos 706 f.
Damophon 567₀ in archaistic reliefs
of the Twelve (Gods 1055 ff. sandal-
binding 706₈ 707₀ standing axe in

Hermes (*cont.*)

hand 661 standing with purse,
caduceus, and ram 1160 with *cadu-*
ceus and eagle 1071 with *phallós*
ending in iam's head 1082 with
supported foot 638₀ 640₀ with winged
head 706

Identified with Thoth 332₃

Assimilated to Gennaïos 1093

Associated with Hestia 958 Zeus 1071

— *Epeiōs*' statue of, caught by
fishermen in net 1137

Hermione

Cult: Hera Παρθένος 1043

Myths: Zeus and Hera come to
'anchorage' 1043 Zeus transforms
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Hermionthis

Cult: Bakha 953₃

— excavations at 1082

Herodias 163₃

Heros κατὰ πρύμναν 158₄

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Herse

Myth: Erichthonios 186 248₆ 764 f.

Genealogy: d. of Kekrops 166 d. of
Zeus 261 d. of Zeus by Selene 179 f.
m. of Kephalos by Hermes 246

Function: personification of dew 237
245 944

Hesperides

Myths: Hera 1064 Herakles 1019

Type: Panainos 956

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Cults: Dura-Europos (?) 1163 Kos 565 f.
Thasos 1125

Epithet: Βουλαία 1125

Rite: Coan sacrifice of ox that bowed
its neck 565

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Heudanemos 103 f.

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Myths: lies with Demeter 75 ff. or with
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 s. of Aiolos 148
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- Iasos in Karia 76₁
Cult: Zeus "ΤΨειρος 1162
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 Iassos 76₁ See Iasion
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Compared with Daidalos and Talos 1111
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 — Paul and Thekla at 523 f.
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Genealogy: s. of Dyaus 531
Function: storm 544
Etymology: 1078 (?)
Attribute: vajra 926
Identified with Zeus 540 545
 — elephant of 546 f.
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 Ino 133 135 1104
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Cults: Aphrodite Κτησυλλα 269₁ Artemis 269
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Attribute: knotted or studded staff 94₀
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Cults: Athens 588₁ Delos 154 f. Egypt 302₀₍₆₎ Pompeii 641₁ Rhodes 986

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- Genealogy*: m. by Dionysos of Apollon and Artemis 984
Functions: earth 302⁰⁽⁶⁾ 344₁ 351
 'Queen of Heaven' 350
Attribute: starry robe 350
Types: 'Canopus' 346 double bust (with Apis) 1182
Identified with Eumenouthis (?) 349
 Theonoe (?) 349
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 — earth 'the body of Isis' 351 the star of 180

Iskallis, Hittite form of Attis 1174

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- Functions*: morning- and evening-star 834 ravisher of men 834
Type: nude goddess 834

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- Cults*: Athena 126₄ 127 'Triton' 126₄ 127

— coins of 126₄ 127

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- Cults*: Campania 1155 Falerii 802₃
 Lanuvium 837₄ Rome 23

Epithets: *Caelestis* 1045₃ *Feronia* 1155

Lucina 1044₄ 1117 *Moneta* 23₃
Sospita Mater Regina 837₄ *Sospita* 837

Rites: annual sacrifice of virgin at Falerii 802₃ (?) sacrifice of pregnant sow 23

Functions: *aer* 235₀ childbirth 1117

Attributes: peacock 41 *stephane* with nine crescents 1117

Types: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062_{2(1 f)} virgin seated on lion 1045

Identified with earth 452

— couch of 1044₃ star of 180

Iupiter

- Cults*: Alban Mt 492 Amathous in Kypros 653₀ Apulum 1140 Bononia in Bulgaria 1098 Campania 1155 Capua 656₃ Delos 155 Heddernheim 656₄ Heliopolis in Syria 1093 ff. Maiden Castle (?) 1098 f. Makedonia 148, Nescania 1129 Numidia 1078 Pompeii 29₄ Rome 433₀ 544₃ 1097 f. Salamis in Kypros 646₀ Syracuse 148 Volsci 1155

Epithets: *Aeternus* 947 *Anxur* 1155 *Anxurus* 1155 *Bronton* 544₃ *Bussumarius* 1140 *Bussumarus* 1140 *Capitolinus* 246₀ 562₃ 707₂ 1066 *Conservator* 946 *Conservator Totius Poli* 947 *deus deorum* 1130

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- Dolichenus* 37₆ 831 945 946 f. 1097 f. (bibliography) *Elicius* 433₀ *Exhibitor Invictus* 947 *Heliopolitanus* 945 1093 1095 *Hospes* 653₀ *Ilicius* 433₀ (?) *Imperator* 148 *Maius* 321₀ *Nasamonius Tonans* 325₃ *nubilus* 36₁ *Numen Praestantissimum* 947 *Olbius* 656₃ 656₄ *Optimus Maximus* 947 1093 1098 1140 *Pantheus* 1129 *Pluvialis* 324 *Pluvius* 324 333 *Purpurio* 55₅ *Sabaeus* 656₃ *Sulaminus* 646₀ *Secundanus* 156 f. *Secundus* 156 157 *Secundanus* 155 ff. *Syrius* 902₃ *Terminalis* 1183 *Terminus* 1183 *verceus* 1078

Festivals: *Latiar* 432₁ *Latinae* 432₁

Rites: *aquaelicum* 432₉ human sacrifice to Iupiter *Elicius* commuted 433₀

Priest: flamen *Dialis* must neither touch nor mention dog or goat 243₅

Personated by Commodus 1100 magistrate presiding at games 562₃

Myths: consorts with Ceres 452 in Gigantomachy gets thunderbolts from eagle 792₂ rains blood before death of M. Marcellus 479 rescues Alcumena 517 transforms ants into men (*Myrmidones*) 608₂

Genealogy: f. of Aeacus by Aegina 608₃

Functions: *aether* 235₀ *ignis* 235₀ lightning 433₀ rain 432₉ wind 107 157 protector of boundaries 1183 ruler of starry sky 948

Etymology: 452₁

Attribute: eagle 41

Types: beardless 1062₂₍₁₎ (?) with white hair 734₀ silver bust 1155 1160 half-length figure fulminant 333 enthroned above clouds 40 surrounded by zodiac etc. 1159 seated between Minerva and Iuno 40 f. 41 standing on bull 831 holding whip and corn-ears with *pilos* on head and bulls beside him 1093 in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062_{2(1 f)}

Identified with air 452 rain 452 452₃ sky 452 Elagabalos 902 904 Marnas 555 f.

Iupiter, the planet 71₁

Justitia 823₇

Iturna (Diturna)

Etymology: 1112 f.

Ixion

Personates Zeus 141

Myths: Hera 74 f. Zeus 74 f. 974

Genealogy: f. of Kentauros 75

Types: Greek 1072 Etruscan 1072 Roman 1072 Byzantine 1072

Identified with Engonasin or Ingeniculus 483

Jack of the Hammer 1142

Jacob, ladder of 1118 f.

Jains 1120

Jehovah

Cult: Thessalonike 1162*Epithet*: *σεισίθων* 21*Functions*: earthquake 5₀ 10₁ 21 storm 324₁ 884₀*Attributes*: hawk (?) 558 high crown 1072 thunderbolt 1072*Types*: as a solar Zeus 558 bearded head wearing wreath 558 (?) drawn by Cherubim 324₁ seated on throne, with thunderbolt in right hand, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat with stem and stern ending in a bird's head 1072 seated on winged wheel 558*Identified with* Marnas 558 (?) Theos Hypsistos 1162 Zeus 945*Compared with* Amen 884₀*In relation to* Zeus *Kάριος* in Egypt 1177

Jerash See Gerasa

Jews

Rites: alleged sacrifice of children to Moloch by fire 611₅ *Μοροποδάρια* 1081

John the Baptist

Cult: Malta 1031₁ (?)*Supersedes* Adonis 1031₇ (?)

John the Evangelist, St, in Patmos 986

Jordan 295 f.

Juktas, Mt, profile of Zeus on 1173

Ka'bah

Festival: annual covering in black with inscribed gold band 918 f.*Myths*: brought from heaven by Gabriel 917; first white, then black 917; escapes deluge 917₆ Abraham consorts with Hagar upon it 917₇ 918 Abraham fastens his camel to it, when about to sacrifice Isaac 917₇*Functions*: 'in pre-Islamic times the meteoric form of an Arab deity, either Dousares himself (Münter) or the Moon (V. Dalberg)' (?) 917 'originally a goddess embodied as an aerolite and annually draped in accordance with an ancient marriage-rite' (?) 916₁— Arab beliefs concerning 917 f. described by J. L. Burckhardt 919 f. described by Sir R. F. Burton 918 f. described by Sir W. Muir 919₄Kabention at Thebes in Boeotia, vase from 160 votive table from 580₀

Kabeiroi

Cults: Delos 1172 Mt Kynthos 1172 Phoinike 1001*Priest*: *κοῦρος* or *κόρης* 1083*Etymology*: 1128*In relation to* Genius Cucullatus 1183

Hittites 1128 St Thomas 1128

— bibliography of 1128

Kabeiros

Cult: Thessalonike 902₇Kadmilos 190₇

Kadmos

Genealogy: h. of Harmonia 77₄

— tomb of 978

Kaikias 130

Kaineus 3₀

Kairos

Type: Lysippos 970

— bibliography of 1161

Kaisareia in Kappadokia

Cults: Tyche (Tranquillina) 1177 Zeus 1177

— coins of 1177

Kaisareia Paneas, bronze group at 971₁1086 statue of Julian at 972₀

1086

Kalamaia 179₀

Kalamis 1152 (?)

Kalchedon

Cult: Eleithyia 667 f.

Kallimachos the sculptor 1008 f.

Kalliope 100₂ (?) 100₆ (?)

Kallithyia 1085

Kallynteria 240 f.

Kamarina, coins of 853; 1146

Kameiros, gs. of Helios 986

Kanatha

Cult: Zeus *Μάρνας ὁ Κύριος* 555Kanathos 224₁

Kanobos (Kanopos)

Cult: Kanopos 340*Myths* helmsman of Menelaos 339₁

340 priest of Kanopos outwits

Chaldaeans 339 f.

Kanobos, the helmsman of Menelaos

Myth: loved by Theonoe, d. of Proteus349₈ 1193*Genealogy* h. of Eumenouthis 349*Identified with* Osiris 349

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Attributes: double axe 200 *drépanon* 481

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Cult: Ephesos 1174

Epithet: 'Οπεα 1174

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Etymology: 911₆ (?)

Attribute: lions 834 1174

Type: black stone of Pessinous 893 f. 896 f.

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Function: builders 1074

Kyklops

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Cults. Akamantes 115 Athena 535₁

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— fountain of Apollon at 353 rainfall at 353 *silphion* produced from hower of pitch at 353 f. statue of Zeus from 534 f.

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— coins of 794

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Cult: Zeus 'Αγρός 1071

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Epithet: Compitales 119

Function: ancestral spirits 119 cp. 1189

Larissa in Thessaly

Cults: Enhodia 279 Leukathea 1080

Zeus (Μελίχιος) 279

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Laussel, horn-bearing woman of 1091

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Leda

Myth: consorts with Zeus 462₁ 467
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Genealogy: d. of Thestios s. of Agenor
s. of Pleuron 161₁

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Leleges

Cult: Tarku (?) 651₀

Myth: with Nymphs build temple of
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Lemnos

Cult: Hephaistos 226 ff.

Myths: Hephaistos' fall from heaven
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Lemnos, eponym

Rites: marriage with Hephaistos
233 f. (?) sacrifice of virgins 191₀
233₁

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Poseidon Ἐνέριος 1042₁

Priestess: Ἐρσόφορος 167₁₀ 168 261

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Cults: Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi) 983 Mt

Kithairon 1042 1065 Phaistos 1042₀

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1065 Φερίη 1042₀

Myths: consorts with Zeus 744₁₍₆₎ birth

of Apollon 984 f. hides Apollon in

Chembris 983 f.

Genealogy: m. of Apollon and Artemis

by Zeus 744₁₍₆₎

Etymology: 1042₅

Attribute: cock 1012₀

Types: birth of Athena 681 Praxi-

teles (?) 933

Identified with Bouto (earlier Ὑδó)

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Associated with Hera 1042

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Cult: Apollon Λευκάρης 137₄

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Myth: Zeus 941₁

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Leukothea (Leukathea)

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Metamorphosed into gull 783₁

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Cults: baityloi or baitólia 888 f.

Priests: Λιθοφοροί 888₄

— skins spread to catch honey-dew
on 500₁

Liber

Cult: Thrace 1118

Epithet: Pater 1118

— assigned by Etruscans to seventh
region of sky 156₄

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call he-goat *tityrus* 1080 fringed

goat-skins worn by women of 833 f.

Libye, the country

Cult: Athena 128₁ 839

Myth: Gorgones 847₁ 866

Liguria

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Ligurians 483₁

Lilith (?)

Cult: Sumerians 832 ff. 1196

- Lilith(?) (*cont.*)
Epithet: Ardat Lili ('the slave-girl of the Night') 835
Functions: ancestress of Athena, half-bird half-goddess 834 ravisher of men by night 834
Attributes: coiled piece of rope (?) 1196 head-dress of bovine horns 832 1196 measuring rod and looped cord (?) 832 1196
Types: nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing *en face* on two goats 833 f. nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing *en face* on two lions and flanked by two owls 832 f.
- Lindos
Cults: Damateres and Zeus Δαμάτριος 1124 Hera Βασίλισσα 61₁
- Lindos, gs. of Helios 986
- Linos 243₅
- Lipara 110
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- Lithuanian gods 108 (Perdoytus) 109₁ (Vilcs) 158 (Wejopatis)
- Livia
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Associated with Zeus Ammon 1078 (?)
- Lokroi Epizephyrioi
Cults: Zeus 1097 Zeus'Ελευθέριος 1097
- London
Cult: 'three Mother Goddesses' 1126
- Lordon 1083
- Lucian, satirises Zeus Ολύμπιος 966
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- Luna
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Attribute: crescent 41
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Cults: Bricia 1117 Lussoius 1117
- Lydia
Cult: Baki(-) 1082
Rite: prenuptial free love 1026₄
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Cult: Ερμῆ Κυνάργχα, Μηροσσι Καν-δαῦλα 283₄
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- Lynkeus
Myths: presents Abas with shield dedicated by Danaos to Hera 356₅ saved by Hypermetra 356 369₇
- Lyra 484 488 877
- Lysimachides, votive relief of 309₄₍₂₎
- Lysippos 187₃ 638₀ 704₉ (?) 706 957₀ 970 1019 f.
- Lystia, altar 'to the Epēkoos and to . . . and to Hermes' 1071 bronze statuette of Hermes with *caduceus* and eagle 1071
- Lyttos
Cult: Zeus 525
 — later form of Lyktos 928₉
- Ma 1134 as equivalent of Μητηρ 1131
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- Mageiroi 585 See Daitroi
- Magna Mater
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- Marnas**
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Attributes: *pedum* and cymbals 895₂
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Type: black stone of Pessinous 894₂
Associated with Navis Salvia 895₂ 896₀
 — altar of 895 f.
 See also Meter Theon, Mother of the gods
- Mayence**, column of 1191
- Mean** 88₀ 92₀
- Médard**, St 334₂
- Medousa** 851₀ See Gorgon
- Megalopolis**
Cults: Aphrodite Μαχαρίτις 567₀ Athena Μαχαρίτις 567₀ Demeter ἐν Ἐλεῖ 66₂
 — coins of 712₆ Δακτύλου μνημα near 1183
- Megara**
Cults: Athena Αἰθρία 782 f. 795 Demeter 569₅ Demeter Μαλοφόρος 1136 Eileithyia 668 Pandion ii 783₁ Zeus Ἀφείσιος 1165 Zeus Κόνιος (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκορίτης, nor Χθόνιος) 569₅ 1165 Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 1165 Zeus with the Muses 1165
Myth: Athena as gull brings Kekrops 783
In relation to Athens 783₁
 — tomb of Pandion ii at 783₁ wild-olive as life-tree of 762
- Megara**, w. of Herakles 422
- Megaros** (Megareus), s. of Zeus 1165
- Megisto** (= Kallisto), d. of Keteus 484
- Meidias**, the potter 704₁ 1018 f.
- Meilichos** 1111
- Melampous**
Myth: taught by Cheiron 793
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Etymology: 1187
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- Melanthos** slays Xanthos 1105
- Meliai**
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- Meligounis** 110
- Melite**, the Attic deme
Cult: Demeter Ἀνησιδώρα 202₀ (?)
 — rock-cut cisterns at 363
- Melite** in Phthia
Cults: Artemis 283₄ Aspalis Ἀμειλήτη Ἐκαέργη 283₄
- Meliteus** 246
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- Menedemos of Eretria 595
- Menelaos
Myth. Helene 78 f. 1179
 — helmsman of 339₃ 340
- Menerva
Type: winged 679₀
 See also Menrfa, Menrva
- Menoikeus, tomb of 815₀
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Attribute: purse 1062₂₍₁₁₁₎
Types: in pediment of Domitian's
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Associated with Volcanus and Minerva
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- Messene
Cults: Artemis' Ἐλεία 66₂ Zeus' Ἐπιδώτας
 1130 Zeus' Ἱθωμάτας 525
- Mesthā or Amset 345₁
- Metapontum
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Rite: θέπος χερσοῦν dedicated at Delphoi
 307₀
 — coins of 307₀ 820₂
- Meter
Cult. Athens 67₀
- Meteres, nurses of Zeus in Crete 225₁
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- Metis
Epithet: πρώτη γενέτις 745₈
Myth. swallowed by Zeus 125₃ 567₀
 727₃ 728 743 f. 744₁₍₁₎
Metamorphosed into fly 744₁ (?) many
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 Okeanos by Tethys 743 m. of
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 746 f.
Compared with Thetis 745
- Metis (masc.)
Epithet: πρώτος γενέτωρ 745₁
Myth: birth from cosmic egg ('the
 cloud') 727
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- Michael, St
Cult: 1070
Supersedes Zeus 277₂ (?)
- Midas, captures Silenos by ruse 433₀
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 — conceived as celestial road 946
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- Mimas 3₀
- Min
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Functions: fertility 885₀ thunderbolt
 882₂
Attribute: thunderbolt 884₀
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 bull-gods of Egypt 885₀
- Mine 1090
- Minerva
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Epithets: Medica 859 Tritonia 126₀
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Myth: Myrmix 608₂
Attributes: cornu copiae 825₅ mural
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 in hot bath by Kikalos or his
 daughters 1104
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Europe 627₁
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Etymology: 411₀ (?)
- Minotaur
Epithet: Ταῦρος Μινώιος 1090
Type: leading two captive women (?)
 1090
Compared with Aix 840₀
 — bibliography of 1087 ff.
- Mithras
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Identified with Zeus 945
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- Mitra 1134 See Mithras
- Mneia, in mystic play at Ephesos 422₀
- Mnemosyne
Cult: Thespiai 1070
Myth. consorts with Zeus 744₁₍₅₎

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— water of, as Orphic conception 420₀ 421₀ water of, at Lebadeia 422₀

Mnevis

Type: bull-beaded man with solar disk and plumes 1082

Mochlos, vase from 193 (*b*)

Mochos 1179

Moirai

Cults: Athens 721 Sparta 722₃

Epithet: Λαχέρσευ 722₃

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Types: holding sceptres 1057 one seated and two standing figures 659 717 three standing figures 715 f. 717₂

Assimilated to Aphrodite 722

Associated with Zeus Μοιραγέρης 721₄

In relation to Aphrodite 722 Zeus 1057

— eldest of, identified with Aphrodite Ούρανία 171₀

Moliones

Type: with two heads, four arms, four legs, one body 1177

Molpis, sacrificed to Zeus Ómbrios 525 f.

Momos 742₄

Moneta

Etymology: 23₅

Montezuma 475 f. 1194

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Mother of the gods

Cults: Hittites 916, Mt Ide in Phrygia (Mysia) 893 Pessimous 893 ff. Thebes in Boiotia 893

Type: meteorite 893 ff.

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— *ktes* of (?) 918₃ star of 180 stone image of, falls from heaven 893

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Muses

Cult: Megara 1165

Myths: bury Orpheus 1115 feed Komatas, in chest, on honey 246 Thamyris 488

Genealogy: daughters of Zeus by Mnemosyne 471₁₍₅₎ 1189

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Mykenai

Cult: Hera 1045

Myth: founded by Perseus 363 478₂

Etymology: 478₂

Mykenai, rectangular wells at 363 shaft-graves at 363 *thélos*-tombs at 363 'Treasury of Atreus' at 367₅

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Mykonos

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Mylasa

Cults: Zeus Κρήσιος 1181 Zeus 'Όσοργώα 1140 Zeus 'Υψιστος 1162

Festival: Taurophonía 570 1110

Myra, coin of 899₅₍₂₎

Myrike 1111

Myrmidones 608₂

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Myrtilos

Myth: Olympia 522₁₁

Mytilene

Cults: Etephilai 167 Helios 1184 Karissai 167 Theoi Akraioi 6 Zeus-1184

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Naassene hymn 300₀₍₁₎

Nabataioi

Cults: Adad 1097 Atargatis 1097 Dousares 907 ff. sun 912₄ Tyche 1097 Zeus 1097

Rites: daily libations and incense offered to sun on roof 912₄

Nagidos, coin of 763₂ (?)

Nakoleia

Cults: Theoi Katachthonioi 1160 Zeus Βροντῶν 1160 f. Zeus Βροντῶν και Πατήρ Θεός 1161 (?) Zeus Βροντῶν Νευήτωρ Πατήρ 1161 (?)

— monuments of 1160 f.

Namuḳi 273

Nana 815₀

Nandi 1086

Nannakos 527 f

Napatá

Cult: Ámen 882₂

— *omphalos* from 882₂ 1077

Narkissos

Type: with Eros at his shoulder 1022

Natalia, St 523₄

Naukratis

Cults: Hera 1187 Zeus 'Αποτρόπαιος 1187

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Associated with Mater deum 895₂ 896₀

Naxos

Rite: baby boy placed in bride's bed on eve of wedding 1026₄

— folk-tale from 257₁

Neades or Neides 3₀Neapolis in Makedonia, coins of 856₀Neike 811₁Neiloia 344₄

Neilos

Cult: Silsilis 349

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— called Aigyptos by Homer 358₅ extinguishes pyre of Habrokomes-524 rays of 1077

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- Nemea**
Cult: Zeus 1033 ff.
 — bronze bull from 1085 Epimenides and the lion of 1085 excavations at 1083 ff.
- Nemeseis**
Type: in chariot drawn by two griffins 842₂
- Nemesis**
Cults: Inönu in Phrygia 1146 Rhamnous 955₇
Types: Aphroditic 955₇ standing on man 1073
In relation to Helios 1073 Nemetona 1073 f.
- Nemetona** 1073 f.
- Nemi**, double herms at 1132 f.
- Neophytus**, St 1112
- Neo-Platonists** 745 887 f. 913₁ 914₀
- Neoptolemos**, tomb of, at Delphi 938
- Nephelai**
Cults: Orphists 70 296 Sokrates (?) 70
Epithets: μεγάλοι θεαί ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς 69₆ οὐράναι 69₆ παμβασίλειαι 70₁
Rite: burnt-offering of myrrh 70
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 — costume of 69₃ Orphic hymn to 70
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- Nephele**
Myths: Athamas 73 f. Prokris 72
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- Nephtys** 345₁
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Type: in Pompeian painting of Twelve Gods 1062₂₍₁₎
- Nereids** 129 132 ff. 163 237.
- Nereus**
Genealogy: s. of Pontos 743₈
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- Nero**
Personates Zeus 1117
- Nescania**
Cult: Iupiter *Pantheus* 1129
- New Grange** 367₅
- New Year's Day** 1067
- Nikai**
Type: dancing 955
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- Nikaia** in Bithynia
Cults: Asklepios 1182 Zeus *Αιραιός* 1184
 — coins of 948 1182 1184
- Nikaia** in Liguria
Cult: Hercules *Lapidarius* 492₁
- Nike**
Cult: Athens 811 ff.
Epithets: Ἄπτερος 811 καλλίσφυρος 811₁
Genealogy: d. of Pallas s. of Lykaon and foster-st. of Athena 811₁ d. of Pallas the Titan by Styx 811₁ st. of Zelos, Kratos, Bia 811₁
Functions: abstraction from Athena *Nike* 811 abstraction from Zeus (?)
- Nike (cont.)**
 811₁ charioteer 76₁ Eileithyia 85₀₍₂₎ handmaid to Athena *Nike* (?) 819₁
Etymology: 321₀ (?)
Attribute: palm-branch 67 f. 1181
Types: drawing votes from urn 758 flanking Aphrodite 1016 ff. (?) half-draped 1180 hovering 659 691₃ (?) 692 753 755 1040 sandal-binding 706₆ seated with pomegranate in right hand and helmet in left 811 standing before seated Zeus 1051₍₅₎ standing with *oinochōē* in right hand and pomegranate in left 819₁ wingless 811
In relation to Athena 811
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- Nikephoria** 794₁
- Nikerteria** 754₁
- Nikias**, the painter 460 462 637₃ ff.
- Nikias**, the potter 1012
- Nikomedeia**, earthquake at 25 f. Elagabalus at 902 martyrs at 523₄
- Nikopolis** in Moesia
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- Nile** See Neilos
- Nin-khursag** 1155
- Ninnion**, tablet of 722 723₀ 724₀
- Niobe** 54₂
- Niobids** 955
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Cult: Zeus *Μελίχιος* 1187
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- Noah** 293 528 f.
- Nomos**
Epithets: ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς 951₂ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἐρεῶς υἱός 951₂
Function: *páredros* of Zeus 950
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- Nonae Caprotinae** 612₀
- Nonnos**, on the *Ambrosiai Petrai* 978 f.
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- Notus**
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- Numa Pompilius**, forbids the quenching of ashes with wine 515₀ founds altar of Iupiter *Elicius* 433₀ instructed in lightning-lore by Iupiter *Elicius* 433₀ cp. 738₀ law of, about man struck by lightning 1115 secures Faunus and Martius Picus by ruse 433₀
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- Numidia**
Cults: Hercules 1078 Iupiter 1078 Mercurius 1078 Nutrix 1078 Saturnus 1078 Tellus 1078 Testimonius 1078 Venus 1078

- Nutrix**
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- Nymphogenes** 129
- Nymphs**
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Myth: teach Aristaios 266
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Associated with Pan 308 f.
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 Okeaninai 743₈, Oreiades 164₁
 Archedamos of Thera *ὁ νυμφόληπτος* 262₀ as nurses of Dionysos 85₀ (2) (?)
- Nysa** in Lydia, coins of 1114
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- Nyx**
Genealogy: m. of Moirai 718₁
 — advice of 950₅ in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.
- Oasis of Siwah**
Cult: Zeus *Ἀμμων* 882₂
 — additions to bibliography of 1078 coin found in 1078 earliest reference to Ammoneion in 1076 omphaloid fetish of Ammoneion in 882₂
- Oceanus**
Type: recumbent with water flowing from urn 41
- Oche, Mt**
Myth: union of Zeus with Hera 1041
 — early corbelled building on 1041₁
- Odessos** in Thrace
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- Odhin**
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- Odomantoi** 522
- Odyseus**
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- Oknos (cont.)**
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Priest: *ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας* 642₁ 645₀
Myth: cult founded by Aias s. of Teukros 643₀
 — coins of 642₁ 645₀ *hierón* of, renamed Diokaisareia 643₀ ruled by priestly dynasts, most of them named Teukros or Aias 643₀ temple and *témenos* of Zeus *Ὀλβιος* at 642₁ Tychaion at 646₀
- Olbia**
Cults: Achilles *Ἰωντάρχησ* 654₀ Apollon 1136 Zeus *Ἀταβυριος* 655₀ Zeus *Βασιλεύς* 654₀, Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 654₀ Zeus *Ὀλβιος* 653₁ 1194 1196 Zeus *Πολιάρχησ* 654₀ Zeus *Σωτήρ* 654₀
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- Old Slavonic deities** 64₀
- Olympia**
Cults: Artemis *Κορδάκα* 1009 Athena *Ἐργάνη* 967 Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 954 ff. Zeus *Ὅρκιος* 1147
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- Olympia**, the festival at Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191
- Olympos**
Etymology: 1068
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- Olympos**, the Cretan teacher of Zeus 321₀ 1173
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- Olynthos**, 'Villa of Good Fortune' at 1073
- Omphale**, as a form of Kybele (?) 916₁
- Opiconsivia** 437
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- Orestes**
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- Orestes (*cont.*)
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Epithet: χρυσολύρης 1115
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Types: 'Canopus' 346 ff. 1193 dead body with corn springing from it 305₀₍₇₎ figure made of Nile-mud and filled with corn-grains 305₀ hollow form filled with Nile-silt, planted with corn, and wrapped up like a mummy 305₀ mummy with corn springing from it 305₀₍₇₎ profile contour filled in with earth, barley-grains, etc. 305₀
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- Genealogy*: f. of Aloeos by Kanake 4₀ f. of Athena by lake Tritonis 128₁ f. of Eryx by Aphrodite 176₀ f. of Sinis 10₁
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- Types*: bearing the island Ni-yros or Porphyris 14₀ bronze statue from Artemision (?) 1151 ff. energetic 697 exhibiting wave 755 (?) 755₂ (?) holding *ἀφλάστον* 755₂ hurling trident 1153 in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. in the guise of Zeus 1153 leaning on trident 1153 riding on dolphin 627₍₃₎ 831 seated on rock 581₀ standing with dolphin and trident 12₀ striking with trident 1153 terra-cotta relief at Munich 1152 with eyes in garnet 217₀ with glaucous eyes 216 with horse's head in hand 217₀
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- Saturnus**
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- Selmos**
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Μαχαιεύς 567₀
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Genealogy: s. of Zeus 417₀ f. of Pelops
 417₀
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 or Titan 418₀ supporter of sky 418₀
Etymology: 417₀
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 culus 491
 — bones of 566₂ grave of, at Polion
 in Lesbos 417₀ grave of, on Mt
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Cult. Celts 1191 (?)
Attribute: wheel 1191
Type: holding wheel 1074 (?)
- Tarentum
Cults. Anemoi 105 f. Hera 636₀ Zeus
Ἐλευθέριος 1097
Rite: sacrifice of ass to the Winds
 105 f.
 — antefixes with head of Io from
 635₀ f. coins of 636₀ 714₉ 794 frieze
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- Tarku
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- Tarquiniensis, Lake See Volsiniensis-
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- Tartaros
Etymology: 411₀ (?)
- Tarvos *Trigaranus* 1100
- Tarxien, seated goddesses and other discoid
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- Taurophonia 570 1110
- Tauros, Mt
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- Taygeton, Mt, ascent of 1164
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Cult. Athena *Ἀλέα* 1141
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- Teiresias
Etymology: 1115
- Telchines
Function: produce clouds, rain, hail,
 snow 296 881₁
- Teleboes 507₅ 508
- Telephos 823₃
- Telesphoros
Type. hooded 1182 f.
In relation to Genius Cucullatus 1183
- Tellus
Cults Numidia 1078 Rome 24₃
Rite: sacrifice of pregnant sow 23
Type: with *cornu copiae* and child
 904
- Temenothyrai
Cult: Zeus *Γαλάκτιος* 1104
 — rock-cut throne of Geryones at
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- Tempe 10₁
- Temsche (Tamise) 338₁
- Tenedos
Cults: Apollon 1146 Dionysos *Ἀνθρωπο-*
ρραϊστής 599₍₂₎ Dionysos *Ῥωαδῖος*
 599₍₂₎
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- Tenes 1146 See also Tennes (Tenes)
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- Tenos, 'Tower of the Winds' at 129₆
- Tereus
Myth: pursues Prokne and Philomela
 1147
Genealogy: h. of Prokne 53
Attribute: double axe 1147
 — in the *Birds* of Aristophanes 44 ff.
- Termessos (Termessus Maior)
Cults: Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 1176 Zeus-
Σολυμειύς 1176
Festival: Eleutheria (?) 1176
 — coins of 1177
- Terminus
Cult. Rome 441
Rite: blood of burnt sacrifice, incense,

Terminus (*cont.*)

corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed in hole 441

— altar of (?) 430₀ stone of 441 1067

Terra

Epithet: mater 453₂

Terra Mater

Rite: sacrifice of pregnant sow 23

Tesana 259₀

Testimonius

Cult: Numidia 1078

Tešub

Compared with Adad, Ramman, and the god of Mt Tabor 1173

Tethys

Genealogy: m. of Metis by Okeanos 743

Tettix the Cretan 257₁Teukroi 651₀

Teukros

Myth founds temple of Zeus at Salamis in Kypros 646₀ 650₀

Function: faded god (?) 650₀

Etymology 651₀

— as name of priestly dynasts at Olba 643₀ 645₀ prehistory of 650₀ ff.

Teutamidas 1187

Teuthras 823₃Thales 19₄ 19₅Thaletas 592₃Thalna 678₍₁₎ 679₀ 679₍₃₎ 680₍₄₎

Function: birth-goddess 88₀ 679₍₃₎

Thamyris

Myth: blinded by Muses 488

Identified with Engonasin or Ingeniculus 488

Thaur 665₀ 678₍₁₎ 678₍₂₎

Thasos

Cults Hestia Βουλαία 1125 Zeus

Ἀγοραῖος Θάσιος 1181 Zeus Βουλαῖος

1125 Zeus Καταβάτης 1115 Zeus

Κρήσιος Πατρώος 1181

— archaistic relief from town-gates of 1155 f.

Thaulia 282₇

Thaulon 282 596 ff. ancestor of Boutypoi

597 etymology of 603 first to sacrifice ox 597 661₃

Thaulonidai 282 identified with Boutypoi 597 603

Thammasion, Mt

Myth: stone swallowed by Kronos 929

Thea 302₍₆₎ 309 312₍₄₎

Thea ἡ Ὀμβρία

Cult: Salamis in Kypros 561 (?)

Theandrius

Cult: Carnuntum (?) 1163

Thebai Phthiotides

Cult: Zeus Μετρίχιος 1187

Thebe, early name of Thebes in Boiotia 224

Thebes in Boiotia

Cults: Apollon Ἴσμήριος 507₅ 880

Apollon Χαλάσιος 880 Athena Ὀμολαῖς 608₃ Dionysos 1103 Hektor

1174 Mother of the gods 893 Pan

893 Zeus Ἐλευῖς 762₂

Thebes in Boiotia (*cont.*)

Festival: Daphnephoria 880

Rite: bridal bath from Ismenos 372

Myths: birth of Dionysos 477 1118

Laῖος 426 Menoikeus 815₀ Semele

82₃ Zeus consorts with Alkmene w. of Amphitryon 477

— Ἡλεκτριδὲς πύλαι at 77₄ Νηστὰι πύλαι at 815₀

Thebes in Egypt

Cults: Amen 882₂ Zeus 1131 Zeus-Θηβαῖεύς 837

Theira

Cults: Demeter 992 Men 992

Rite: κάλαθος 992

Thekla, St 475₁ 523 f.

Thelpousa, coins of 1012

Themis

Cult: Delphoi 1121

Myths: advises Zeus to flay Amalthea 839 consorts with Zeus 744₁₍₂₎

1064 f. entrusts infant Zeus to the nymph Amaltheia 839₃

Genealogy: m. of Dike by Zeus 823 m. of Horai and Moirai by Zeus 744₁₍₂₎

Function: 'an emanation from Ge' 1064₇

Identified with Ge 1064 Zeus 951

Associated with Ge 1121

Theodosios I, abolishes Olympic festival 969 suppresses paganism 969

Theogamma 1047

Theoi Agreis 1176

Theoi Agrioi 1174 1176

Theoi Agroteroi 1174 1176

Theoi Akraioi

Cult: Mytilene 6

Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi

Cult: Inoni in Phrygia 1146

Theoi Katachthonioi

Cult: Nakoleia 1160

Theonoe 349 1193

Theopista, St 1102

Theopistus, St 1102

Theopropoi 593 f. 595

Theos 302₍₆₎ 309 312₍₄₎

Theos Agathos

Cult: Stratonikeia 1162

Theos Agnostos See Agnostos Theos

Theos Aniketos

Cult: Amastris 1140

Epithet: Ἀσθαμεύς 1140

Theos Hypsistos

Cults: Amastris 1163 Thessalonike 1162

Epithet: Ἐπήκοος 1163

Identified with Helios 1163 Jehovah 1162

Theos Megas

Cult: Odessos in Thrace 1129

Theos Olbios

Cults: Kavak 630₀ Lampsakos 1196 Sestos 656₂

Theos Tauros

Cult: Thespiiai 1086.

- Thera**
Cults: (Poseidon) Γαῖόχοος 13₁ (Zeus) Βορεαῖος 161 (?)
 — rain-magic in 284
- Therapne**
Cult: Poseidon Γαῖόχοος 11₁
- Theren** 1032
- Thermos in Aitolia**
Cults: Ge 1184 Helios 1184 Zeus 1184
- Thesan** 259₀
- Theseion** at Athens 223₆
- Theseus**
Myths: finds sword of Aigeus 484₁₁
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Epithets: αγαθέ 961₁ Ἀγαμέμνων 2697 1181 Ἀγίος 945 ἀγλαός 1126 Ἀγρός 1071 Ἀγοραῖος Θάσιος 1181 ἀθάνατος 508₃ ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς 35₈ ἀγχιόχος 314 844₀ 866 866₆ 866₇ 867 1156 αἰθέρι ναίων 743₀ αἰθέριος 1066 Ἀθριος 1066 Αἰνήσιος 1171 αἰολοβρόντας 107₃ αἰολόμορφος 107₃ Αἰόλος 107₃ (?) 141 (?) Ἀκραῖος 1043₂ Ἀκταῖος 68 260 317 1043₂ 1161 ἀλάστωρ 952 Ἀλδήμιος or Ἄλδος 556 Ἀλεξίκακος 87₃ Ἀμάριος 1114 Ἀμάριος (?) = Ουάριος 1114 Ἀμυων 882₂ 884₀ 912₁ 1076 1078 Ἀμφιάρατος 2697 1181 ἀμφιθαλής 1181 f. ἀναξ 560₆ 1066 1085 1113 ἀναξ μακάρων 1183 Ἀπεσάντιος 1165 Ἀπήμιος 526 Ἀποτρόπαιος 1187 ἀργυρεαινος 34₂ Ἀρισταῖος 267 ff. ἀριστοτέχνης 567₀ 961₂ ἄρρην 726₆ Ἀσβαμαῖος 1140 Ἀσεῖς 1106 t. Ἀσκληπιος 2697 973₀ 1182 Ἀσκραῖος 569 Ἀστεριος 953 954 Ἀστράπιος 70 ἀστράπιος 21₆ Ἀταβύριος in Rhodes 525 1172 Ἀταβύριος in Sicily 525 Ἀταβύριος in Sympheropolis 655₀ 1173 αὐξήτης 21₆ Ἀφέσιος 1165 Ἄφριος 271 ff. βαρκετιπιος 811₁ Βασιλεύς 52₁ 61₁ 654₀ Βεννεῖς 1162 Βεννιος 1162 Βένυλος 890 f. 944 Βήλος 1112 Βορεαῖος (?) 161 Βόρειος 161 944 Βουλαῖος 1125 Βουλεύς 1124 Βου-

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σουρίγιος 1140 Βρόμιος (?) 531 βρονταῖος 21₆ Βροντῶν 1160 f. Βροντῶν καὶ Πατῆρ Θεός (?) 1161 Βροντῶν Νεκρήτωρ Πατῆρ (?) 1161 γαῖαχος 10₁ Δαμάτριος 1124 Δικαῖσινος 951 Δικαῖσινος Μέγας 951 Δικας δαμιοεργεῖ καὶ εὐνοῖας (?) 964₂ Διομῖος 595₀ Διόνυσος 1126 Δίος 1125 Δολιχαῖος 1097 f. (bibliography) Δουσαρῆς 944 Δουσαρῆς Σωτήρ (?) 912 Δωδωναῖος 566₀ 567₀ 964₂ 10₁ 6 1113 Εἰλαπιναστής 652₀ 762₃ Εἰλήτι (?) 762₃ εἰρηνικός καὶ πανταχοῦ πρῶτος οἷος ἀστασιάζου καὶ ὁμοιοούσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος 963₂ ἐκ Πείσης 967₁ Ἐλαῖος (?) 762₃ Ἐλευθέριος 212₂ 581₀ 654₀ 1097 1130 1176 1184 1186 Ἐλαῖος 762₃ Ἐλλάνιος 1164 f. Ἐλύμιος 1042 (?) Ἐνδεδυρός 1173 ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ 967₁ ἐν Παλλαδίῳ 609₅ ἐξ Αἰλῆς 1160 *Ἐπαφος 99₀ (?) Ἐπήκοος 652₀ 1160 Ἐπήκοος Θεός 1160 Ἐπιδῶτας 1130 Ἐπικάρπιος 912 912₂ 964 ἐπι Παλλαδίου 609₆ Ἐπιτέλειος Φάλιος 309₄₍₂₎ ἐρίγδοπιος 61₁ Ἐρκεῖος 243 455 749 Ἐρρος 261 944 Ἐρραῖος 265 (?) 944 Ἐρμῖος 261₃ Ἐταιρεῖος 963 Εὐδάμενος 160 f. 944 εὐάντητος 147₁ 147₂ Εὐβουλεύς 312 1124 Εὐελίδης 762₃ εὐήνεμος 160₂ εὐώδων 99₀ Ἐφέστιος 1189 Ἐφόριος 1183 Γελχάνος 1043₀ 1173 t. Ζελοιοκόρος 1159 Ζελοιοκόρος 1159 Ἥλιος (See *Identificatio*) Ἡραῖος 1047 Θάσιος (See Ἀγοραῖος) Θαῖλιος 277 ff. 603 Θεμιστιος 949 964₂ Θεῖος 1095 θεόταυρε (v. l. ἄ ταυρε) 1086 Θηζαῖος 837 ἠήλιος 726₆ Ἰδαῖος in Crete 953 Ἰθαμάτας 525 1153 t. Ἰκέσιος 951 t. 963 Ἰκετας 952 Ἰνμαῖος 157₂ (?) 266 f. 320₄ 944 Ἴκμενος 157 944 Ἴκιμος 268 καθάρσιος 21₆ Καλακάγῆθος 1162 Καππώτας 884₁ 939 ff. 944 Καραῖος 32₅ 1148 1162 1165 Κάρσιος 569₅ Κάσιος in Egypt 817₀ 1177 Κάσιος in Korkyra 271₃ Κάσιος in Syria 334₁ 884₁ 1140 1177 Κάσι(ος) Σώζων 1177 Καταβάρτης 942₇ 1114 f. 1115 κελαινεφής 33 f. Κεραῖος 1162 1165 Κεράστης (?) 652₁ Κεραῖνιος 70 884₁ 1157 κεραῖνιος 21₆ Κεραῖνός 743₃ 942₇ 1114 Κήνιαος (Κηνιαῖος) 1166 κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτήρα καὶ φύλακα 963₃ Κόνιος (not Κρόνιος. not Κώνιος. not Σκοιτήριος. not Χθόνιος) 569₅ 1165 Κρηταγενής 551 553₁ 555 556 1092 Κρονιδής 34 633₁ 743₀ 866₆ 1183 Κρονίων 33 t. 107₁ 265₁ 1085 Κτήσιος 964 1180 1181 Κτήσιος Πατρῶος 1181 κύσιος 34₂ Κύστιος 1172 Κύριος 1095 1098 (See also Μάρνας) Λαφύστιος in Boiotia and Thessaly 321₀ Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 525 1080 1167 Λεχεάτης 99₀ 127₀ Λιταῖος 1184 Λύκαιος

Zeus (cont.)

267 525 580, 1068 Μαζεύς 1112
 Μαιμάκτης 321₀ Μάναφος 1163
 Μάρνας ὁ Κύριος 555 μέγα θαύμα,
 μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειρα 947 Μέγας
 531₁ 1098 (See also Δικαιοσύνη) μέγας
 928 949₂ μεγασθενής 567₀ 964₂ Μέγ-
 ιστος 1160 1163 1172 (See also
 Νεφώτης) μέγιστος 34₂ μέγιστος θεός
 1112 Μελίχιος 951 1184 1187 ff.
 Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1188 Με-
 λιχιος (= Μελιχιος) 1187 Μεσέρκειος
 243₃ Μήλιος 1172 Μηλώσιος 32₃
 μητίετα 567₀ 743 745 μητιέτης 727₃
 μητιόεις 743 928 Μηχανεύς 142₈ 321₀
 566₂ 567₀ Μελιχιος (= Μελίχιος)
 1187 1188 Μοιραγέτης 721₄ Μόριος
 762 Νάιος 320₁ 1078 Νεμειος 1191
 νεφεληγερέτα 30 ff. 296 314 321₀
 Νεφώτης ὁ Μέγιστος 349 Νόσιος 7₂
 1111 Νένιος 325 653₀ 964 1184 1189
 ὀδηγητήρ 147₁ Ὀλβιος 628 ff. 1194
 1196 Ὀλύμπιος 188 236 320₆ 604₂ 648₀,
 649₀ 737₂ 954 967₁ 1068 1107 1155
 1165 1196 Ὀμάριος 1114 Ὀμβριος 320₄
 324₅ (?) 525 ff. 562 873₁ 874 914 Ὀμό-
 γηνος 963 Ὀρκιος 1183 Ὀρκιος 946 1147
 Ὀρσίλοχος 99₀ (?) ὀρσινεφής 35₆
 Ὀσσοῦα 1140 οὐρανοῦ... κρέοντι 35₂
 Ὀθριος 142 ff. 944 οὐριος 567₀ παγ-
 κρατής 10₄ Πάλαξος (?) 1140 Πανά-
 μαρος 544₃ 1066 Πάνδημος 212₂ Πάνδρο-
 σος 260 (?) Πανελλήνιος (= Hadrian)
 422₀ Πανομφαίος 320₄ 1076 Πανόπτης
 1086 πάνταρχος θεῶν 53₄ Παντεπόπτης
 1086 παντόπτας 53₄ παντοτινάκτης 21₆
 Πάσιος 1181 πάτερ(νος) 471 567₀ 737₈
 947 949₀ 964₂ Πατήρ 949₀ 1060₇ (See
 also Βροντῶν) Πατρώος 585₁ 964₂ 1125
 1174 Πατρώος (= Augustus) 1191
 (See also Κτήσιος) Πειάλης 1111
 Πελασγικός 560₆ 1113 περίγειος 1066
 Πολεαίος (?) 575₈ Πολεαίος (?) 575₈
 Πολιάρχης 654₀ Πολιεύς 317 565
 570 ff. 720 755 757 963 1194 πολυ-
 νεφελος 35₈ Πόλωσος (?) 1140 Πορφυ-
 ρίων (?) 55₃ Προμηθεύς (?) 1075
 Σαβάζιος 874₁₂ Σαλαμίνιος (?) 648₀
 649₀ Σάραπις 973₀ σεισίχθων 21
 Σημαλέος 267₈ Σκιόλιος 413₀ 1148
 Σκυλλιος 413₀ 414₀ 416₀ 1148 Σολυμεύς
 1176 Σπάλαξος 1149 Σπλαγγηστόμος
 652₀ Στρατηγός 148 Συκάσιος 1184
 σχινοκέφαλος 32₃ Σωσιπιδιος 239₁
 599₀ 604₇ Σωτήρ 563 575₀ 654₀
 659₀ 1163 1177 1181 1184 1196 (See
 also Δουσάρης) σωτήρ 35₇ Ταργηνός
 651₀ 652₀ Τελειος 609 948₁₆ 949₀ 1060₇
 Τελεσιουργός 1192 Τεράστιος 939
 Τμάριος 1168 τὸν βίου καὶ ζωῆς καὶ
 συμπατων δότηα τῶν ἀγαθῶν 963₂
 τοῦ κατ' ἄσπρα Ζηνός 1112 Τρεφώνιος
 οὐ Τροφώνιος 269₇ 1182 Τροπαιοφόρος
 1117 Τροφώνιος 1182 (See also
 Τρεφώνιος) τύραννος 1102 Τέτιος 319₁

Zeus (cont.)

320₁ 531 561 ff. 561₅ 873 944 ἴετιος
 473₂ Ἰησ (Ἰῆς?) 873 f. 944 Ἰνναρείς
 1177 Ἰπατος 531 945 964₂ Ἰψίγιος
 743₀ Ἰψιμέδων 1115 Ἰψιμεφής 35₇
 Ἰψιστος 939₄ 945 1162 ff. Φαλακρός
 (Φάλακρος) 321₀ Φάττιος 1126 Φειδιακός
 966 Φίλιος 951 963 1189 1191 (See also
 Ἐπιτέλειος) φίλος 317₄ 319₂ Φόξιος
 963 φυνάλιος 21₆ Φύτιος 1071 Χαλάξ-
 ιος 944 Χαλάξιος Σώζων 880 f.
 *Χειρογόνος 99₀ (?) χρυσόμορφος 456₀
 Ὠρομάσδης 951

Festivals: Boughonia (See *Rites*. βου-
 φόνια) Dia 320₄ Diu-oteia 575₉ Διός
 βοῦς (See *Rites*) Dipolieia 317 574 ff.

Rites: Βοηγία 563 Βουφόνια 570 576 ff.
 873 Διός βοῦς 564 Διὸς κώδιον 602,
 1081 ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός 775₀ human
 sacrifice to Iupiter *Hospes* (Zeus
Xénios) at Amathous in Kypros 653₀
 human sacrifice to Zeus at Lyttos
 525 human sacrifice to Zeus in
 Kypros 652₀ human sacrifice to Zeus
Atabýrios in Rhodes and Sicily 525
 human sacrifice to Zeus-*Ithomátas*
 in Messene 525 human sacrifice to
 Zeus *Kretagenés* (Marnas) at Gaza
 554 f. human sacrifice to Zeus
Laphýstios in Thessaly and Boiotia
 525 human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*
 in Arkadia 267 525 1068 human
 sacrifice to Zeus *Ombrios* at Elis
 267 525 f. libation of honey to Zeus
Éndendros in Paros 1173 monthly
 banquet in sanctuary of Zeus
Hýpsistos 1163 procession of goat
 leading priest 569 procession of rain-
 makers clad in sheep-skins 31 f. 63 f.
 rain-magic 314 ff. sacrifice of bull
 to Zeus *Ólbios* 630 sacrifice of bull,
 ram, he-goat, boar etc. to Zeus
Hýétios, according to wealth of
 donor 318 563 sacrifice of ox
 representing Zeus *Polteús* 606
 sacrifice of ox to Zeus *Sotér* 22
 sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Heraios* 1047
 sacrifice of sixty rams to (Zeus)
Machaneús 566 sacrifice of sheep to
 Zeus *Hórios* 1183 sacrifice of she-
 goat to Zeus in Crete 1110 sacrifice
 of self-chosen goat 569 sacrifice of
 self-chosen ox 581 ff. sacrifice of
 white bull by Bektashi monks on
 Mt Tomori near Berat 1171
 ἱεροφόροι pour water over axe and
 knife at Dipolieia 317 583 604

Priests: P. Aelius Aristeides 872 ἀρ-
 χιερεὺς καὶ συμποσάρχης τῶν ἱερῶν
 1112 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας 642₁ 645₀ *ζούτης*
 589 f. (?) *βουτύπιος* 585 ff. at Corycian
 Cave 651₀ *βουφόμος* 583 586 *ζακῶρος*
 155₁ 155₂ *ιερεὺς* 155₁ 155₂ *ιερεὺς διὰ*
βίου 1176 *κλειδοῦς* 155₁ of Zeus *ἐν*
Παλλαδίῳ drawn from Bouzygai 609

Zeus (cont.)

of Zeus *Teletios* drawn from Bouzygai 609 *τομοῖροι* (τόμοροι) 1168 *ὑποφήται* 1168 *Φαίδρυνται* 967

Priestesses: ὑδροφόροι 583 603

Worshippers: Ἐρμιασταί, Ἀπολλωνιασταί, Πουσειδωνιασταί 155 *ἱερόδοται* 648₀

Personated by Aeolian kings 141 Alexander the Great 540₀ alytarch of Olympian games at Antiocheia on the Orontes 562₃ Antiochos I of Kommagene 951 (?) Antoninus Pius 1130 Augustus 1125 1191 Caligula 969, Caracalla 37₆ Commodus 37₆ dead man 309₄(2) Demetrios Poliorketes 1115 Domitian 37₆ early Greek kings 733 Epopeus (?) 1112 Geta 37₆ hierophant 301₀(3) Ixion 141 Keyx 141 Nero 1117 Perikles 32₅ 66₄ Pisthetaros 21 59 f. priestly king at Stratonikeia 568 (?) Roman emperors 537₀ 537₁ Salmoneus 141 Trajan (?) 1191

Myths: adoption of Dionysos by simulated birth from himself 89₁ adoption of Herakles by simulated birth from Hera 89₁ Aiolos 106 f. Aix 839₆ 840₀ Amphion 54₂ as infant entrusted by Rhea to Themis, by Themis to Amaltheia, by Amaltheia to her goat 839₆ as infant guarded by sword-dance of Kouretes and Korybantes 1070 Asterie 984 f. at first tries in vain to learn Prometheus' secret 740 f. at last succeeds in learning Prometheus' secret 741 bestows his intended bride Thetis upon Peleus 741 f. birth of Dionysos 79 ff. blinds Lykourgos, s. of Dryas 228. born on Mt Tmolos 562 carries off Hera from Euboeia to Boiotia 1042 cleaves cloud in Crete and so produces Athena 727 comes to 'anchorage' at Hermione 1043

consorts with a succession of seven wives listed by Hesiod as — Metis, Themis, Eurynome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, Hera 744₁ Aigina d. of Asopos 1121 f. Alkmene 506 ff. 518 Antiope 467 469 615₃ Danae 455 ff. 518 944 Demeter 301₀(3) 744₁(4) Deo or Demeter 615₃ Europe 469 615₃ Eurynome 744₁(3) Ge *Thémis* 949 Hera 35 58 65 111 111₁ 180 744₁(7) 1025 ff. Himalia 477 518 Io 615₃ Leda 462₁ 467 469 Leto 744₁(6) 1042 Metis 744₁(1) Mnemosyne 744₁(5) Myrike 1111 Othreis 246 Pasiphae 615₃ Selene 179 f. 1111 Themis 744₁(2) 1064 f.

contends with Poseidon for Aigina 751₁ courts Hera for three hundred years 1025 creates the

Zeus (cont.)

world anew inside himself 745 deposits Kronos 966 Dionysos sewn up in thigh of Zeus 79 Διὸς ἀπάρτη 35 180 924 1065 Διὸς θάκοι καὶ πέσσοι (ψήφοι) 600(4) 757₁ division of the world between the sons of Kronos 34 drinks of Nile and begets Ares 344₃ Endymion 74 expelled in infancy by Kronos 1187 extinguishes pyre by timely rain 506 ff. fights with Typhon 191₀ flays the goat Amaltheia and wears its skin 839 flings Hephaistos down to Lemnos 235 Ganymedes 469 955; 981 f. gets *aigis* from Hephaistos 866 f. Gigantes 792₃ 966 gives cup to Alkmene 507; hangs up Hera with *akmones* fastened to her feet 924 head cleft by Hephaistos 660 f. head cleft by Hermes 661 head cleft by Palamaon 661 head cleft by Prometheus 661 hidden from Kronos in Crete 953 Iasion 75 f. Io 631 ff. 1082 Ixion 74 f. leaps upon Phanes and swallows him 745 lends *aigis* to Apollon 314₃ lends thunderbolt to Athena 868 Leucadian rock 941₁ Metis 567₀ nursed by Hyades (?) 1082 Meteres in Crete 225₁ Peleides (?) 1082

nurtured by bears 953 doves 975 prince slain by wild boar and buried in Crete 1070 rains ambrosia at birth of Dionysos 477 500 rains blood before battle between Achaeans and Trojans 478 rains blood before death of Sarpedon the Lycian 323 478 rains blood before single fight between Herakles and Kyknos 478 f. rains golden snow at birth of Athena 477 670 719 rains golden snow at wooing of Alkmene 477 507 rains stones to help Herakles-fighting Ligurians 483 492 rains wine etc. in Utopia 500 Salmoneus 141 966 Semele 82₃ swallows Metis 727₃ 728 743 f. 942 swallows Phanes 745 942 taught by Cretan Olympos 321₀ threatens to flog Hera 924 Titans 478₀ 839 966 Typhoeus 615₃ Typhon 1135 visits Hera clandestinely 1025 f. woos Thetis 741 f.

Metamorphosed into Amphitryon 507 f. bull 469 615 ff. 628 cash 466 f. coins, chains, rings, trinkets 467 cuckoo 63₆ 1043 dew 180 261 eagle 981 1122 (?) Eros 974 1129 golden rain 455 golden snow 477 518 rain 477 Satyr 467 469 1111 swan 63₆ 467 469

Genealogy: s. of Kronos 34 ancestor of Danaides 142 reputed f. of Aethlios the s. of Aiolos 107 f. of Apollon and Artemis by Leto 744₁(6) f. of Ares after drinking of Nile 344₁

Zeus (*cont.*)

f. of Athena by Metis 744₁₍₁₎ adopts Athena, d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis 128₁ f. of Basileia (?) 60₅₍₂₎ f. of Britomartis by Hekate (?) 544₄ f. of Charites 955 f. of the Charites (Aglaiā, Euphrosyne, Thalia) by Eurynome 744₁₍₃₎ f. of Dike by Themis 823 f. of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) by Persephone 120 f. of Erichthonios by (ie 236 f. of Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia by Hera 744₁₍₇₎ f. of Hebe 724 f. f. of Herakles by Alkmene w. of Amphitryon 506 f. of Herakles by Hera 926^(?) f. of Herse 261 f. of Herse by Selene 179 f. f. of the Horai (Eunomia, Dike, Eirene) and the Moirai (Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos) by Themis 744₁₍₂₎ f. of Iasion by Elektra 77₄ f. of Megaros (Megareus) 1165 f. of Melichos by Myrke 1111 f. of Meliteus by nymph Othreis 246 f. of Minos and Rhadamanthys by Europe 627₁ f. of Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys by Europe 628₀ f. of the Muses by Mnemosyne 744₁₍₅₎ f. of Persephone by Demeter 744₁₍₄₎ f. of Perseus by Danae 455 f. of Sarpedon the Lycian 478 f. of Spartaios, Kronios, Kytos by Himalia 478₀ f. of Tantalos 417₀

Functions: agriculture 526 f. air 180 322, *aithēr* 1046, ancient king 120 chthonian 309₄₍₂₎ 1160^(?) cloud-30 ff. 943 1171 common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind 963 974 contriver 567₀ cosmic lord 948 creator of the universe 964 974 1179 dew 165 ff. 236 261 ff. 261₁ 265 944 earthquakes 1 ff. 20 ff. 943 1163 etesian winds 142 266 favouring wind 141 ff. fertility 656 fire 234 fire in heaven 234 foam 272 ff. giver of himself to men 961 giver of livelihood and life and all good things 963 guardian of *thēmistes* 949 hail 868 875 ff. head of Hellenic pantheon 943 honey-dew 500 law of nature 950 magician 31 567₀ 743 marriage-god 609 948₁₆ 1060₇ meteorites 881 ff. 944 mills 1125 mind of man 950 moon 943 north wind 161 not *ab initio* the husband of Hera 744₁ 1025 1065 oaths (See witness of oaths) orders the constellations 1112 pantheistic 745 947 1129 patron of arts 567₀ patron of law and order 949 peace and harmony 963 protector of the bloodguilty 951 protector of boundaries 1183 protector of suppliants and strangers 951 f. providence 946 1197 rain 31 284 ff. 314 ff. 319 ff.

Zeus (*cont.*)

451 ff. 525 601 f. 868 873 f. 944 sky 942 943 sky-god 943 1092 stars 943 953 storm 65 storm-winds 868 sun 943 945 953 1071 the supreme spirit 728^(?) transition from sky to sky-god 943 tyrant 1102 universe or universal soul 727 weather 519 943 welfare 630 west wind 162 whirlwinds 162 f. wind 103 ff. 157 944 (See also etesian winds, favouring wind, north wind, storm-winds, west wind, whirlwinds) witness of oaths 245₁₀ 946 1140 1148

Etymology: 320^(?) 322₀^(?) 746^(?) 947 f. ^(?)

Attributes: *aigis* 314 533 ff. Athena 548 *chiton* 628 *chlamys* 517₀ cock 1043₀ corn-ears 1126 double axe 604 f. eagle 571 573 elephant 545 ff. globe 1112 golden bay^(?)-wreath 464 grapes 1125 f. long sceptre 36 464 543 548 Nike 321₀ *numbus* 36 oak-tree 522₁₀^(?) 568 569 881^(?) oak-wreath 36 537 f. 871₁ 1033^(?) 1191 olive-wreath 685₂^(?) owl 794 palm 545 f. panther 569, *phiale* 676₀ plough 1125 pomegranate 817₀ radiate *numbus* 1112 reddish violet *himation* 464 sceptre tipped with eagle 1040 1048₄ 1057 1060 sceptre tipped with forepart of winged horse 665, sceptre tipped with Janiform head 686 sceptre tipped with ram's head 665, short sceptre 649₀ -nake 1159 spear 21, 1147 sword 1142 throne with back ending in swan's head 667₂ throne with seat resting on small carved figure or group 667₂ thunderbolt 36 926 945 f. *thyrsoi* 685₂ two snakes 1184 two thunderbolts 946 veil 88, 1033 wedding-ring 1033 winged thunderbolt 465

Types: *argos lithos* 939, 941 as a bull bearing off Europe 615 ff. as a bull emerging from sea 980 as conceived by Alexander the Great 933 beardless 638₀^(?) 1155 birth of Dionysos on *bullae* 88₀ birth of Dionysos on coin 88₀ birth of Dionysos on mirrors 86₇ birth of Dionysos in reliefs 83_{1(1 f)} birth of Dionysos on vases 80₂₍₁₋₆₎ Boigheze head 1154 f. bovine 656 bronze statue from Artemision^(?) 1151 ff. bust holding grapes and corn-ears 1125 f. bust shouldering thunderbolt or sceptre 542 bust with eagle on right shoulder 1160 bust with large garland round head 1160 carrying infant Dionysos 1107 colour of hair 1066 Dionysiac (See *Assimilated to Dionysos*) driving chariot 1076 enthroned *en face* 676₍₃₎ enthroned with globe as footstool 948 Eukleides of Athens 1107 f.

Zeus (*cont.*)

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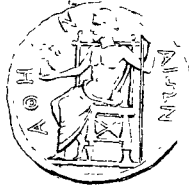


Fig. 932.

Zeus Olympios
on a bronze coin of Athens
(*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica*
p. 104 no. 754 pl. 18, 4, E. Beulé
Les monnaies d'Athènes
Paris 1858 p. 396 fig., Imhoof-
Blumer and P. Gardner *Num.*
Comm. Paus. iii. 137 f. pl. BB, 4,
J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies*
d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926
pl. 92, 1 Athens, 2 London)
representing the chryselephan-
tine copy of Pheidias' statue set
up by Hadrian in the Olympieion
(Paus. i. 18. 6).

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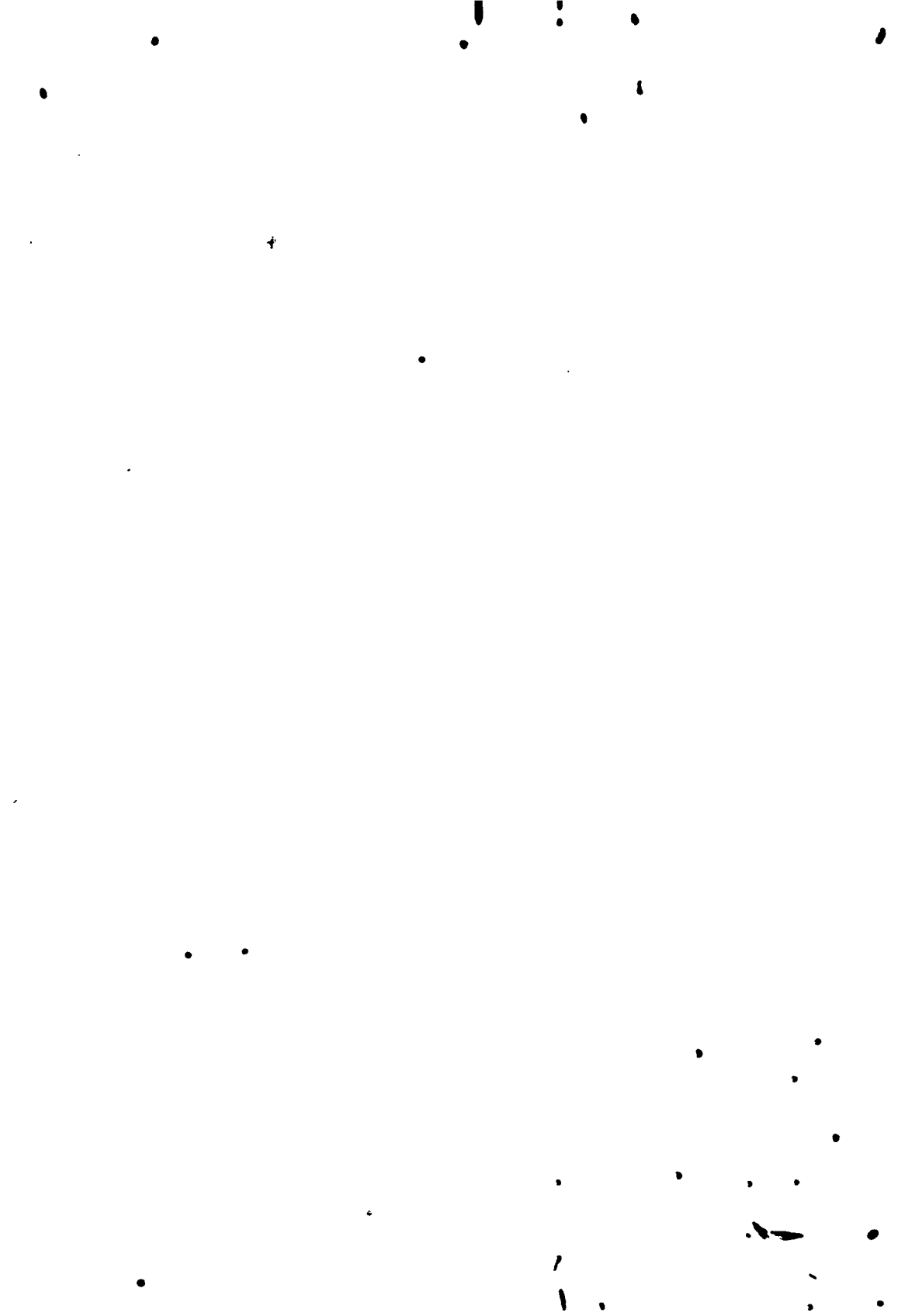
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